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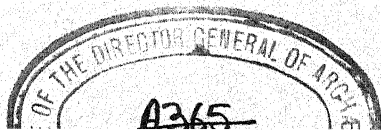
## FOREWORD.

Dr. Nanabhai Navroji Katrak of Bombay has founded two Lectureships under the name of "Bai Ratanbai Katrak Lectures", one at Oxford and the other at Paris. The one at Oxford University is to consist of not less than six lectures to be delivered at the end of every period of ten years on a subject embodying research in the field of Zoroastrian Religion. The other, at the Sorbonne, is to consist of not less than four lectures to be delivered at the end of every five years on a subject embodying researches in Zoroastrian History. The first series of Lectures at Oxford was delivered in 1925 by Prof. Louis H. Gray of Columbia University, the well-known Oriental Scholar. The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute has undertaken to publish these lectures as a separate number of its journal, and the present volume is the result.

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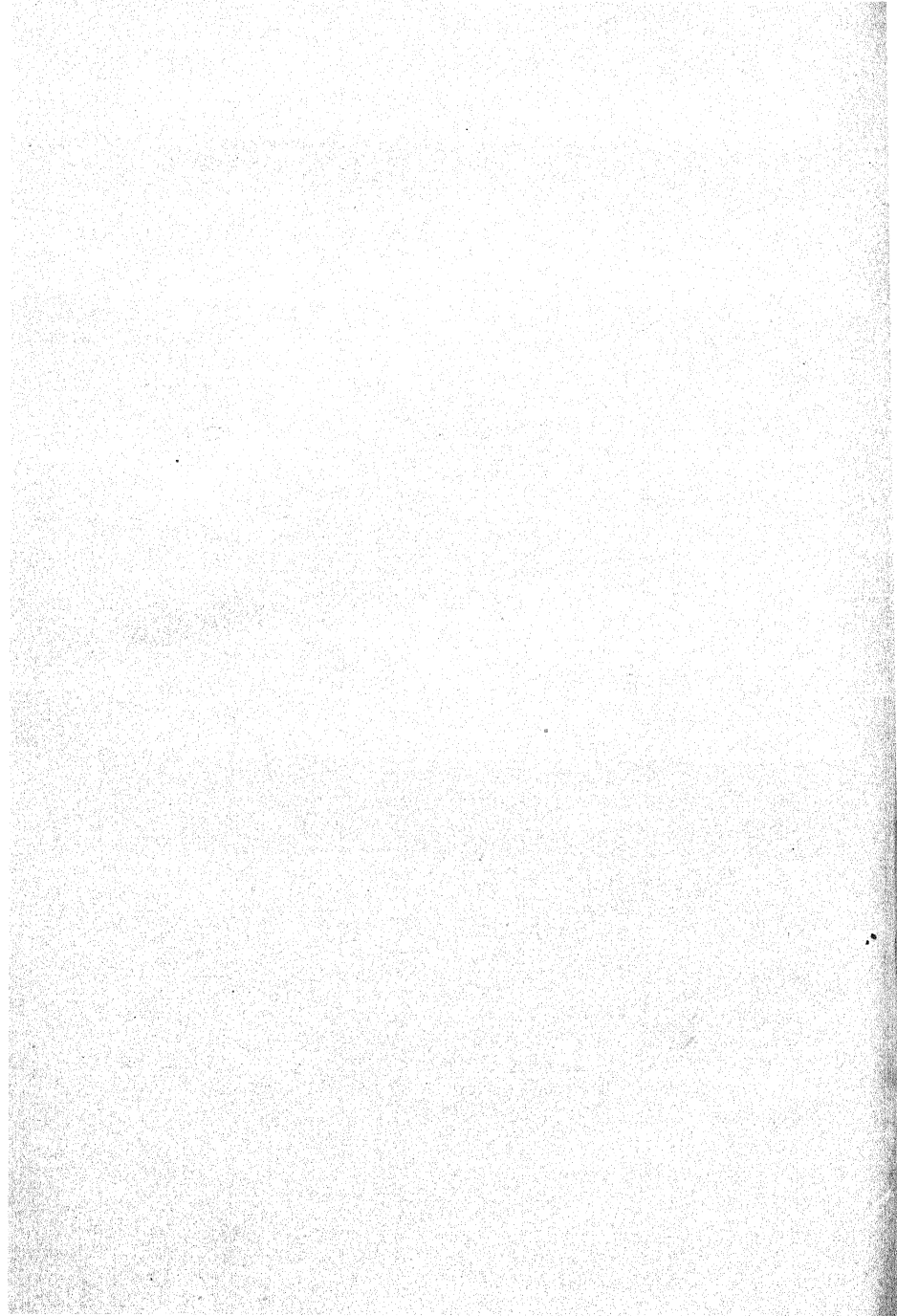
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## ABBREVIATIONS.

[It seems scarcely necessary here to repeat the full and formal bibliographies given in the principal studies on the Iranian religions, of which the most recent is contained in Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. xx-xxxi. The authors, titles, etc., of books and articles not included in this list of abbreviations, but cited in the course of discussion, are recorded in the notes which mention them.]

*ABAW* : *Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe*, Berlin, 1908 sqq.

Abeghian, *Volks Glaube* : M. Abeghian, *Der armenische Volks Glaube*, Leipzig, 1899.

*AD* : *Andarj-i-Dastōbarān val Vēhdiṇān*, ed. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp-Āsana, *Pahlavi Texts*, Bombay, 1897-1913, pp. 121-7 ; tr. Kaikhusru Jamaspji Jamasp-Āsa, in *Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, do., 1914, pp. 84-8.

*Āfr.* : *Āfrīngān* (in all standard editions and translations of the Avesta).<sup>1</sup>

Aharonian, *Croyances* : A. Aharonian, *Les anciennes croyances arméniennes*, Geneva, 1913.

*AJSL* : *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago, 1884 sqq.

Ananikian, *Mythology* : M. Ananikian, 'Armenian Mythology', in *MAR* vii (1925), 1-100, 363-71, 379-97, 435-40.

*Aog.* : *Aogmadāzēdā*, ed. and tr. (Avesta, Pāzand, and Sanskrit versions) W. Geiger, Erlangen, 1878 ; ed. (Pahlavi version) Bahmanji Nusservanji Dhabhar, in *Indo-Iranian Studies.... in Honour of.... Sanjana*, London, 1925, pp. 117-30 ; (Pāzand version) Edalji Kersāspji Āntiā, *Pāzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, pp. 348-57.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. N. L. Westergaard, Copenhagen, 1854 ; F. Spiegel (except Yašt and Fragments), 2 vols., Vienna, 1853-58 ; K. F. Geldner (except Fragments), 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1886-95 ; tr. F. Spiegel, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1852-63 ; J. Darmesteter, *ZA* ; J. Darmesteter and L. H. Mills, *SBE* iv, xxiii, xxxi ; C. de Harlez,<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1881 ; C. Bartholomæ (Gāthās), Strasbourg, 1905 ; F. Wolff (the remainder, except the Fragments), do., 1910. Editions and translations of no lasting value or of portions only are designatedly

*Arabian Nights* : tr. J. Payne, 13 vols., London, 1882-84; *Supplemental Nights*, tr. R. F. Burton, 4 vols., Benares, 1885-88.

*Art. Ham. (Pers., Sus.)* : inscriptions of Artaxerxes I or II at Hamadān (or Persepolis or Susa), ed. and tr. in all complete editions of the Achaemenian inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

*AS* : *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, new ed., Paris, 1863 sqq.

*ASDS* : *Afdīya va Sāyakih-i Damīg-i Sagastān*, ed. and tr. E. W. West, in *JAOS* xxxvi (1916), 118-21 (cf. A. V. W. Jackson, *ib.*, pp. 115-7; the work was actually done before Jan. 7, 1898); ed. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, Bombay, 1897-1913, pp. 25-6; tr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, in *Aiyādgar-i-Zarīrān*, etc., do., 1899, pp. 122-7.

*Assemani, Acta* : S. E. Assemani, *Acta sanctorum martyrum orientalium et occidentalium*, i, Rome, 1748.

*AV* : *Atharva Veda*, best ed. W. D. Whitney and R. Roth, Berlin, 1855 (2d ed., do., 1924); best tr. W. D. Whitney, ed. C. R. Lanman, Cambridge, U. S. A., 1905.

*AVN* : *Artā-Vīrāf-Nāmak*, ed. and tr. (Pahlavi version) Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa and M. Haug, Bombay, 1872; tr. A. Barthélemy, Paris, 1887; ed. (Pahlavi and Persian versions) Kaikhusru Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, Bombay, 1902; (Pāzand version) Edalji Kersāspji Antiā, *Pāzend Texts*, do., 1909, pp. 358-80; (Persian version) Manockji Rustamji Unvālā, *Dārāb Hormazdyār's Rivāyat*, do., 1922, ii, 331-42; (Sanskrit version) Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, do., 1920.

*AZ* : *Āfrin-i Zartūšt*, ed. (Avesta version) N. L. Westergaard, *Zendavesta*, pp. 360-1; tr. Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 659-62, and *SBE* xxiii, 325-8; ed. (Pāzand version) Edalji Kersāspji Antiā, *Pāzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, pp. 107-10; (Persian version) Manockji Rustamji Unvālā, *Dārāb Hormazdyār's Rivāyat*, do., 1922, i, 399-401.

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<sup>1</sup> (Old Persian version) F. Spiegel,<sup>2</sup> Leipzig, 1881; F. Weissbach and W. Bang, 2 parts, do., 1893-1908; H. C. Tolman, New York [1908] (Babylonian version) C. Bezold, Leipzig, 1882; (Elamitic version) F. H. Weissbach, do., 1890; (all three versions) F. H. Weissbach, do., 1911. Editions and translations of no lasting value or of portions only are designedly omitted here.

Bartholomae, *AirWb.* : C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strasbourg, 1904.

—*Forschungen* : *Arische Forschungen*, 3 parts, Halle, 1882-87.

—*Gatha's* : *Die Gatha's des Avesta* . . . übersetzt, Strasbourg, 1905.

—*ZIW* : *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, do., 1906.

Baunack, *Studien* : J. and T. Baunack, *Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen und der arischen Sprachen*, i (all published), Leipzig, 1886-88.

*BB* : *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ed. A. Bezzenberger, 30 vols., Göttingen, 1877-1906.

*Bd.* : *Būdahišn*, ed. (Pahlavi version) N. L. Westergaard, Copenhagen, 1851 ; ed. and tr. F. Justi, Leipzig, 1868 ; tr. E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 1-151 ; ed. (Pāzand version) Edalji Kersāspji Antiā, *Pāzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, pp. 1-82.

Benfey-Stern, *Monatsnamen* : T. Benfey and M. A. Stern, *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, Berlin, 1836.

Bergaigne, *Religion* : A. Bergaigne, *La Religion védique*, 3 vols., Paris, 1878-83.

Berneker, *Wörterbuch* : E. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1908 sqq.

*Bh.* : inscriptions of Darius the Great at Bahistūn, ed. and tr. in all complete editions of the Achaemenian inscriptions, also ed. and tr. (all versions) L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, London, 1907.

Boisacq, *Dictionnaire* : E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1916.

Bousset, *Gnosis* : W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907.

Braun, *Akten* : C. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer* . . . aus dem Syrischen übersetzt, Kempten and Munich, 1915.

Brown, *Lexicon* : F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Boston, U. S. A., 1906.

Brückner, *Mitologia* : A. Brückner, *Mitologia slava*, Bologna [1923].

Brugmann, *Grundriss* : K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*,<sup>2</sup> 3 vols. (7 parts), Strasbourg, 1897-1916.

BSLP : *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris*, Paris, 1867 sqq.

BYt. : *Bahman Yašt*, ed. (Pahlavi version) Kaikobâd Âdarbâd Noshervân, Bombay [1899]; tr. E. W. West, in *SBE*, 189-235; ed. (Pâzand version) Edalji Kersâspji Antiâ, *Pâzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, pp. 339-48; (Persian version) Manockji Rustamji Unvâlâ, *Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyat*, do., ii. 86-97.

Carnoy, *Mythology* : A. Carnoy, 'Iranian Mythology', in *MAR* vi (1917), 251-351, 360-8, 395-404.

Casartelli, *Philosophy* : L. C. Casartelli, *The Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, tr. Firoz Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, Bombay, 1889.

Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité* : E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, 'Un Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine', in *JA* X, xviii (1911), 499-617; XI, i (1913), 99-199, 261-394.

CIS : *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 sqq.

Clay, *Artaxerxes* : A. T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I*, Philadelphia, 1898.

—*Darius* : *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur dated in the Reign of Darius II*, do., 1904.

—*Documents* : *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur dated in the Reign of Darius II*, do., 1912.

Clemen, *Fontes* : C. Clemen, *Fontes historiae religionis persicae*, Bonn, 1920.

—*Nachrichten* : *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, do., 1920.

ČN : *Čatrang-Nāmak*, ed. and tr. Peshutan Behramji Sanjana, in *Ganjeshāyagān*, etc., Bombay, 1885; C. Salemann, in *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du bulletin de l'académie impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, ix (1887), 222-42; ed. Khudâyâr Shahryâr Irani, *Pahlavi Texts*, Bombay, 1889, pp. 28-36; Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, do., 1897-1913, pp. 115-20.

Cowley, *Papyri* : A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, B.C.*, Oxford, 1923.

Cumont, *Cosmogonie* : F. Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Theodore bar Khôni*, Brussels, 1908.

—*TM* : *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 2 vols., do., 1896-99.

Darmesteter, *Etudes* : J. Darmesteter, *Etudes iraniennes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1883.

—*Haurvatât* : *Haurvatât et Ameretât*, do., 1875.

—*Ormazd* : *Ormazd et Ahriman*, do., 1877.

—*ZA* : *Le Zend-Avesta*, 3 vols., do., 1892-93.

—*Dar. Pers.* : inscriptions of Darius the Great at Persepolis, ed. and tr. in all complete editions of the Achaemenian inscriptions.

*DD* : *Dāristān-i Dinik*, tr. E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 1-276

de Harlez, *Avesta* : C. de Harlez, *Avesta, livre sacré du zoroastrisme*,<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1881.

Delbrück, *Syntax* : B. Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3 vols., Strasbourg, 1893-1900.

Delehayé, *Actes* : H. Delehayé, *Les Versions grecques des actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II*, Paris, 1905 (= *Patrologia Orientalis*, II, iv).

de Morgan, *Numismatique* : J. de Morgan, *Manuel de numismatique orientale*, Paris, 1923, sqq.

Dhalla, *Theology* : M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914.

*Dk.* : *Dinkart*, ed. and tr. Peshotan Behramjee and Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Bombay, 1874-1928 19 vols. ; ed. Dhanjishah Meherjibhai Madan, 2 vols., do., 1911.

Dottin, *Manuel* : G. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique*,<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1915.

*ERE* : *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols., Edinburgh, 1908-27.

Falk-Torp, *Wörterbuch* : H. Falk and A. Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911.

Farnell, *CGS* : L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 5 vols., Oxford, 1896-1909.

Feist, *Kultur* : S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, Berlin, 1913.

— *Wörterbuch* : *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*,<sup>2</sup> Halle, 1925.

*FW* : Westergaard's Fragments of the Avesta, ed. N. L. Westergaard, *Zendavesta*, pp. 331-4; tr. Darmesteter, *ZA* iii, 1-12, and *SBE* iv,<sup>2</sup> 245-51.

*G* : *Gāh* (in all standard editions and translations of the Avesta).

*Gd. Bd.* : *Grand Būndahišn*, ed. Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria, Bombay, 1908.

Geiger, *Aməša Spəntas* : B. Geiger, 'Die Aməša Spəntas, ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung', in *SWAW* clxxvi (1916).

Geiger, *OK* : W. Geiger, *Ostirānische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882.

Geldner, *Metrik* : K. Geldner, *Ueber die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877.

Gelzer, *Götterlehre* : H. Gelzer, 'Zur armenischen Götterlehre', in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe*, 1896, pp. 99-148.

*GF* : *Mātigān-i Yōšt-i Fryānō*, ed. and tr. in *AVN* pp. 207-66; tr. A. Barthélemy, Paris, 1889.

*GirP* : *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, 2 vols. and 'Anhang', Strasbourg, 1895-1903.

Grassmann, *Wörterbuch* : H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig, 1873.

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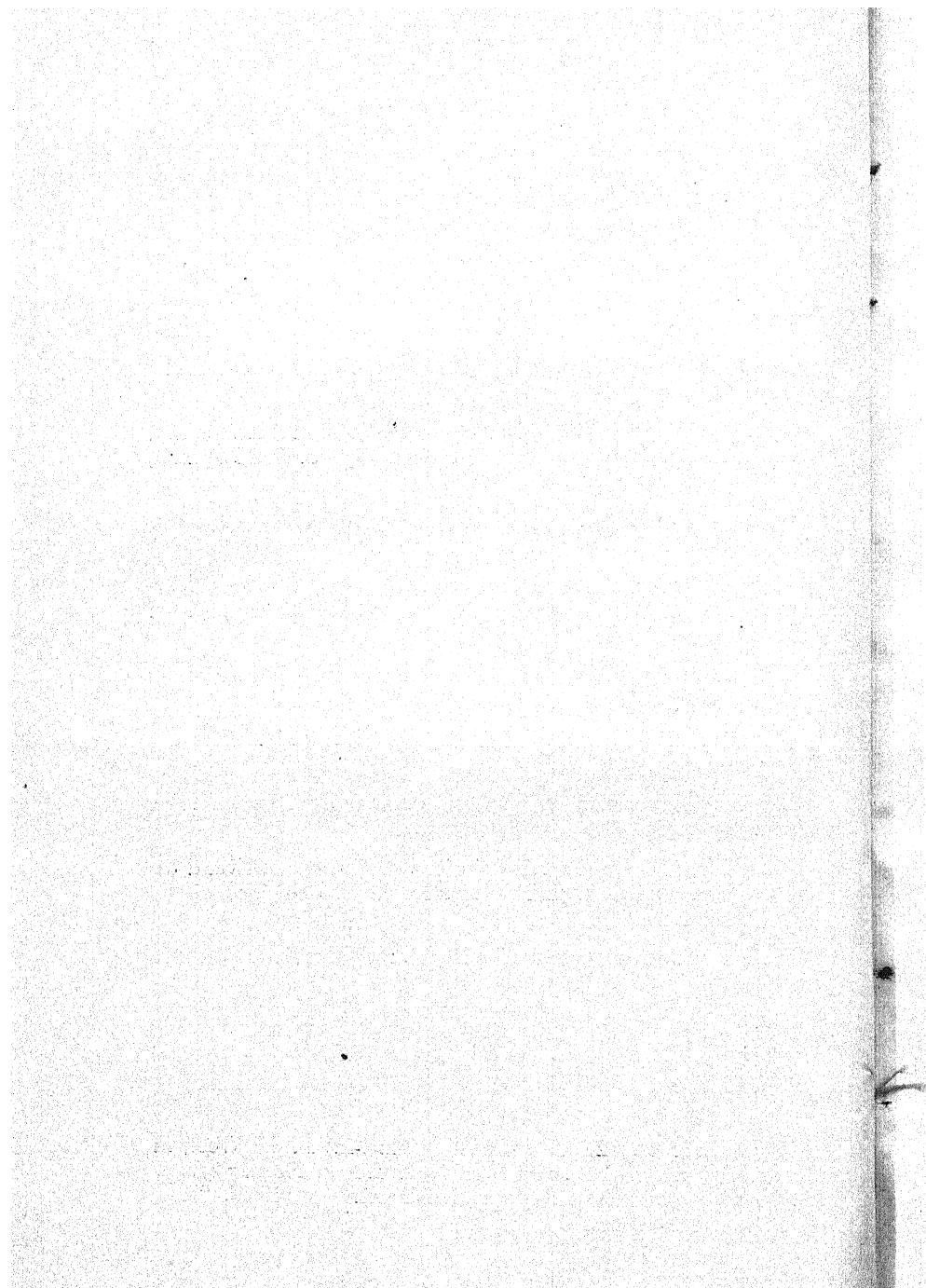
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# RATANBAI KATRAK LECTURES.

## THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE IRANIAN RELIGIONS

BY

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### INTRODUCTION.

The ancient religions of the Iranian Plateau possess an interest extending far more widely than the area in which they flourished. With the development of the Persian Empires they spread to Cappadocia, Commagene, Pontus, Armenia, and Georgia,<sup>1</sup> and even exercised some slight influence in northern India;<sup>2</sup> while their traces still exist in the Hindū-Kūš,<sup>3</sup> as well as among the Tušes, Pšavs, Khevsurs, and Ossetes of the Caucasus.<sup>4</sup> They are believed by many<sup>5</sup> to have influenced the Judaism of the Exile, though the resemblances between the

<sup>1</sup> See Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 100-18; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 20-35, 42-6; O. von Wesendonck, in *Caucasica*, i (1924), 58-91.

<sup>2</sup> A. Weber, 'Über die Magavyakti des Krishṇadāsa Miçra', in *SB4W* 1879, pp. 446-88, and 'Über zwei Parteischriften zu Gunsten der Maga resp. Čakadvīpiya Brāhmaṇa', ib. 1880, pp. 27-78; T. Bloch, 'Eine indische Version der iranischen Sage von Sām', in *ZdmG* lxiv (1910), 733-8; W. E. Clark, 'Śākadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa', in *JAOS* xxxix (1919), 209-42; H. H. Wilson, in M. Reinaud, *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1849, pp. 391-7; W. Kiefel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn, 1920, pp. 101, 103, 114, 120, 130. The Sanskrit *Sāryasataka* of Mayūra (first half of the seventh century) probably belongs to this cycle (ed. and tr. G. P. Quackenbos, *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*, New York, 1917; cf. especially pp. 35-9).

<sup>3</sup> C. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au nord et au sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, Paris, 1896, pp. 91, 96-7, 329-32, 334, 337-8; J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta, 1880, pp. 75, 108; Olufsen, *Famirs*, pp. 197-9, 205-6.

<sup>4</sup> M. Kovalevski, 'Survivals of Iranian Culture in the Caucasian Highlands', in *Archaeological Review*, i (1888), 313-31; L. H. Gray, in *ERE* xii, 483-8; E. H. Minns, ib. ix, 572-4.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. T. K. Cheyne, *Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, London, 1891, pp. 271-2, 281-3, 394-407, 419-22, 425, 433-41; L. H. Mills, *Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia*, Chicago, 1913; A. Kohut, *Über die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, Leipzig, 1866; E. Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, Haarlem, 1898; E. Böklen, *Verwandschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1902; Scheftelowitz, *Judentum*.

Iranian *yazatas* and the Hebrew angels (מַלְאָכִים 'messengers'), Aēšma Daēva and Asmodaeus, Agra Mainyu and Satan ('Adversary'), Aməša Spəntas and Archangels seem rather superficial, while belief in a future life would appear to have arisen independently among Iranians and Jews. It has been suggested,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, that the Persians, described by Herodotus (i, 133) as the most ready of all men to adopt foreign customs, borrowed their monotheistic concept of Ahura Mazda from the Jews of the Exile; but this hypothesis likewise is scarcely necessary. There are some traces of Iranian beliefs, however, in post-Apostolic Christianity,<sup>2</sup> as in Muhammadanism,<sup>3</sup> Gnosticism,<sup>4</sup> Mandaeanism,<sup>5</sup> and especially Manicheism with its ramifications in Europe to the days of the Albigenses,<sup>6</sup> while under the name of Mithraism they swept the Roman Empire, stopping only at Hadrian's Wall and constituting by all odds the most formidable rival of nascent Christianity.<sup>7</sup>

The reasons for this wide diffusion were partly political: the religions of Iran spread with the expansion of the Iranian Empires, first under the Achaemenians and later under the Sāsānids.<sup>8</sup> Yet there was more than a political basis, for this alone would not explain the extent and the tenacity of Mithraism, a faith of the humble and lowly. The real reason for the vitality of Iranian religion up to the present day has lain in its

<sup>1</sup> Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 76-84; Moulton, *Treasure*, pp. 68-73, cf. M. Gaster, 'Parsiism in Judaism', in *ERE* ix, 637-40.

<sup>2</sup> I Infancy iii, 1, 6-7 (late Arabic text); E. Kuhn, 'Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung in christlichem Gewand', in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 217-21.

<sup>3</sup> I. Goldziher, 'Islamisme et parsisme', in *RHR* xliii (1901), 1-2; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen. Islam*, Bonn, 1912, pp. 55, 67, 68, 191, 200-1, 212, 242, 244, 246, 248, 297-8, 299-300, 331, 334, 391, 398; E. Littmann, 'Hārūt und Mārūt', *Festschrift. . . Andreas. . . dargebracht*, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 70-87; L. E. Gray, 'Zoroastrian Elements in Muhammadan Eschatology', in *L. Muséon*, nouvelle série, iii (1902), 153-84.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 85-90, 116-9, 136-52, 202-9, 223-32, 237-369-82.

<sup>5</sup> W. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 194-7, 202-3.

<sup>6</sup> This will be discussed fully by Jackson in *Mani and Researches*; cf. also O. Zöckler, 'Neumanichäer', in *PRE* xiii, 757-70.

<sup>7</sup> See especially Cumont, *TM*.

<sup>8</sup> For the political factors governing the apparently changeable attitude of Sāsānian Zoroastrianism toward Christianity see Labourt, *Christianisme*, pp. 43-50; W. Wigram, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church*, London, 1910, pp. 59-62, 138, 188; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 196, 198, 203-4.

precious possession of an intense and tremendous conviction that Good is good and Evil is evil; that Good must war against Evil till wickedness is vanquished; that each man must battle for God against the devil. Such a creed bred men of lofty purpose, of high morality, of that purity, nobility, and resolution which found so fine an expression in the Iranian triad of 'good thought, good word, good deed', the union of religion with morality, of duty toward the divine world with duty toward mankind.

In the historic period the Iranian religions appear to fall into two groups which may be termed, for the sake of convenience, 'Persian' (with Mithraism as its great offshoot)<sup>1</sup> and 'Avestan'. The former, centring in Persis (the modern area of Fārs) and represented in native sources only by the inscriptions of the Achaemenian Kings, seems to have been a simple system of worship of Auramazda and other gods, of whom only Miθra and Anāhitā are named;<sup>2</sup> the latter is set forth in the Avesta and its ancillary literature in Middle and Modern Persian.

The broad outlines of the Avestan religion are very generally known. Its worship centres about Ahura Mazda, the 'Wise Lord' and the only true God, who opposes Aṇra Mainyu, the 'Hostile Spirit'. Each is assisted by a multitude of super-human beings; and man also engages in the battle, aiding and aided by Ahura Mazda, who rewards him with eternal bliss, or helping Aṇra Mainyu, who recompenses him with hell. Fire is venerated as the highest material emblem of the 'Wise Lord', but is not worshipped, so that it is a gross misnomer to call the adherents of the religion 'fire-worshippers'. Neither is this system dualistic except by a use of the term which seems wholly erroneous, for the two opposing powers are neither co-equal nor co-eternal. Aṇra Mainyu is far less mighty than Ahura Mazda; he is ignorant as contrasted with the omniscient 'Wise Lord', and at a time definitely appointed he and all his hosts will be conquered for ever, while Ahura Mazda and the powers of good will reign supreme throughout eternity. Far from being dualistic, the religion is essentially monotheistic.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 35-7, 88-89; but otherwise Christensen, 'Quelques notices sur les plus anciennes périodes du zoroastrisme', in *Acta Orientalia*, iv (1926), 102-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, 'Achaemenians', in *ERE* i, 69-73; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 113-56; Meillet, *Conférences*, pp. 25-6. Against this view, besides the authorities cited in *ERE*, *loc. cit.*, see Moulton, *EZ* pp. 39-60.

<sup>3</sup> Moulton, *EZ* pp. 125-6, 155; cf. Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 96-7. For general outlines see Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, with full references to previous studies.

As presented in the Avesta, Pahlavi, and Parsī-Persian texts, this system bears on every page the impress of one of the greatest spiritual leaders of all time, Zaratustra, more commonly known by the Greek adaptation of his name, Zoroaster, who is here so dominant a figure that the religion itself is commonly termed Zoroastrianism.<sup>1</sup> His date is set by Iranian tradition at 640-563 B.C., a period of widespread religious, philosophical, and ethical ferment during which the Prophets were teaching in Israel, the philosophers of Greece were beginning their activity, the Buddha was proclaiming a new doctrine in India, and Confucius was moulding the Celestial Empire to his will.<sup>2</sup>

The area in which the early Avesta religion arose is difficult to determine. Some<sup>3</sup> have argued that its original home was in eastern Iran, but it was more probably native to the north-west, particularly to the region known to the Classical writers as Atropatene, the modern Persian district of Ādārbayjān, apparently the birthplace of Zaratustra and perhaps the scene of his earlier ministry.<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis is much strengthened if it be true that, as has recently been argued,<sup>5</sup> the language of the Avesta is more closely akin to the north-western dialect of the Manichaean Pahlavi fragments and to the modern Persian vernaculars of that same area than to any other Iranian languages. The Avestan religion, then, would be Median as contrasted with the Persian, so that the frequent phrase 'Persia(ns) and Media(ns)', or *vice versa*—later replaced by 'Persia(ns) and Parthia(ns)'<sup>6</sup>—would bear a religious as well as a political significance.

<sup>1</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, to which may be added E. Lehmann, *Zaratustra: en bog om Persernes gamle tro*, 2 vols., Copenhagen, 1899-1902. The theories of J. Hertel, *Die Zeit Zoroasters und Achämeniden und Kayaniden*, Leipzig, 1924, may be ignored.

<sup>2</sup> L. C. Casartelli, 'A Note on the Possible Date of Zarathushtra', in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 130-2.

<sup>3</sup> Especially by Geiger, *OK*.

<sup>4</sup> Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 17, 96, 171, 191-201, 219-24.

<sup>5</sup> P. Tedesco, in *Le Monde oriental*, xv (1921), 255-7 (cf. Meillet, *Conférences*, pp. 26-7); cf. J. Vendryes, in A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les Langues du monde*, Paris, 1924, p. 36. See, however, for divergent views both of the date of Zoroaster and of the place of origin of the Avesta A. Christensen, in *Acta Orientalia*, iv (1926), 86-92, 105-115.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. in the Paikuli Inscription 4 (3'), 5, 8 (7'), 16', 37', 40' (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, *ad locc.*). For the phrase 'Persia(ns) and Media(ns)' or 'Media(ns) and Persia(ns)' see Bh. i, 34, 41, 46-7, 49, 66; ii, 18, 81-2; iii, 29-30; Esther i, 3, 14, 18-9; x, 2; Daniel viii, 20.



The sources for these religions seem at first glance to be abundant. They fall into two general categories: (I) native; (II) foreign. To the first class belong (a) the Old Persian inscriptions of the Achaemenian Kings (558-330 B.C.)<sup>1</sup> with contemporary translations of greater or less extent in Babylonian, Elamitic, and some small fragments in Aramaic; (b) the Avesta, consisting of (1) the Gāthās, seventeen poems (Ys. xxviii-xxxiv, xliii-li, liii, and also liv, 1) in a very archaic dialect, traditionally ascribed to Zaratustra himself, besides the seven chapters of the Haptaŋ-hāiti (Ys. xxxv-xli) in Gāthic prose in their present form;<sup>2</sup> and (2) of the 'Younger Avesta', written in a dialect which, on the whole,<sup>3</sup> is doubtless much later than the Gāthās, and which comprises (i) the seventy-two 'Hās' (including the Gāthic chapters) of the Yasna ('Worship') devoted to the cult of various sacred beings; (ii) the five Gāhs ('Times'), each celebrating one of the five periods into which the day is divided; (iii) the five Nyāišns ('Laudations'), each in honour of a sacred being; (iv) the twenty-four 'Kards' of the Vispraŋ ('All-Lords') extolling the lords of the faith; (v) the four Āfrīgāns ('Blessings'); (vi) the two Sīrōčaks ('Thirty-Days') enumerating the sacred beings connected with each of the thirty days of the month; (vii) the twenty-one Yašts ('Praises') in adoration of great sacred beings; (viii) the twenty-two 'Fargards' of the Vidēvdāt ('Law against the Demons'), containing certain ancient traditions, but chiefly of a ritual character; (ix) some shorter pieces, notably the Haōxt Nask (mainly on the future life), the Vištāsp Yašt (of rather miscellaneous character), the Aogəmadaōcā (on the inevitability of death), and the Āfrin-i-Zartūšt (a benediction for Kings); and (x) a large number of fragments; (c) the literature in Pahlavi (or Middle Persian) and in Pāzand (Pahlavi written in pure Iranian, instead of a mixture of Iranian words with Semitic logograms), supplementing the Avesta, beginning with the Sāsānid period, and comprising *inter alia* (i) a commentary on much of the Avesta; (ii) the Dīnkarŋ ('Acts of the Religion'), an elaborate history of the faith; (iii) two recensions of the Būndahišn ('Creation') on cosmology; (iv) the Dāristān-i Dīnik ('Religious Opinions'); (v) the Šikand-Gūmānik-Vijār ('Doubt-Dispelling Explanation'); (vi) the Dīnā-i-Maīnōg-i-

<sup>1</sup> An additional brief text of Darius I has recently been discovered (S. Smith, in *JRAS* 1926, pp. 433-6; L. H. Gray, *ib.* 1927, pp. 97-101; C. D. Buck, in *Language* iii [1927], 1-5; F. Weissbach, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxxvii [1927], 291-4).

<sup>2</sup> For an attempt to reduce them to their presumably original metrical form see Baunack, *Studien*, i, 328-41.

<sup>3</sup> For archaisms in the Younger Avesta cf. A. Meillet, in *JA* XI, x (1917), 183-95, and *Conférences*, pp. 18-20, 30.

Xrat ('Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom')—all on a variety of religious matters—(vii) the *Arṭā-ī-Virāf Nāmak* ('Book of *Arṭā-ī-Virāf*') on eschatology; and (viii) many other treatises on subjects both sacred and profane; and, finally (*d*), the late Parsi-Persian literature containing a mass of tradition, exegesis, and other theological material.

To the second, or foreign, class belong (*a*) the numerous allusions to Zoroaster and the Iranian religions in Greek and Latin authors;<sup>1</sup> (*b*) references in Armenian and Syriac writers;<sup>2</sup> (*c*) statements in Arabic and Muhammadan Persian works; (*d*) traditions in the late Sanskrit *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* and a few minor compositions preserving a tradition of infiltration of Iranian elements into north-western India;<sup>3</sup> (*e*) scattered data in Chinese literature and in the fragments of Manichaean documents discovered in Central Asia;<sup>4</sup> and (*f*) scanty gleanings from Mandaeen writings, proper names on Mandaean and Aramaean bowls, Babylonian and Aramaic tablets and inscriptions, Indo-Scythian coins, and possibly in a text found at Boyaz-Köi, not far from Angora.<sup>5</sup>

Of the native sources by far the most important is the Avesta. This, however, is but a fragment. Originally, as we know from a summary of it in the *Dīnkar* (VIII, i-xlvi; IX, i-lxix), it consisted of twenty-one 'Nasks', of which only one, the *Vidēvdāt*, has been preserved entire. The portion extant is estimated to contain

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Gray, 'Classical Passages Mentioning Zoroaster's Name', in Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 226-73 (supplemented in *Le Muséon*, nouvelle série, ix [1908], 311-8); Clemen, *Fontes* (English translation of all these passages by W. S. Fox, *Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism*, translated into English, Bombay, 1928). For an estimate of these sources see Clemen, *Nachrichten* (to be used with caution; cf. L. H. Gray, in *Harvard Theological Review*, xv [1922], 94-5).

<sup>2</sup> Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 100-18; R. Gottheil, 'References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature', in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, New York, 1894, pp. 24-51. For Zoroastrian influence in Georgia see O. von Wesendonck, in *Caucasica*, i (1924), 58-91.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 1, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 278-80; E. H. Parker, 'Chinese Knowledge of Persia', in *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, III, xv (1903), 144-69; Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*; Müller, *Handschriften-Resten*; Le Coq, *Manichaica*; C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, i (Petrograd, 1908).

<sup>5</sup> W. Brandt, *Manichäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 194-7, 202-3; Pognon, *Coupees*; Montgomery, *Incantation*; Clay, *Documents, Darius, and Artaxerxes*; Stein, *Coins*; W. E. Clark, 'The Alleged Indo-Iranian Names in Cuneiform Inscriptions', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, xxxiii (1917), 261-82.

some 83,000 words and to be about one-fourth of the original whole, so that primarily it was approximately equal in size to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Comparison of the present Avesta with its Pahlavi translation and commentary shows that it has remained unchanged since that version was made about the sixth century of our era; and the variant readings of the manuscripts reveal no essential divergencies of meaning. On the other hand, neither the orthography nor the text of the Avesta can yet be regarded as established, but since the radical changes proposed by the 'Göttingen School' can scarcely be accepted as scientifically justifiable,<sup>1</sup> it seems best to follow provisionally the conventional orthography and text, reserving the right to modify them if subsequent research shall really require it. So far as the religion is concerned, however, criticism, whether 'lower' or 'higher', is not likely to cause changes of material importance.

Of the foreign sources first rank must be given to the Greek and Latin authors, beginning with Xanthus and Herodotus and running well into the Middle Ages. Here again, from citations of fragments of authors whose works as a whole are no longer extant, it is obvious that much of worth has been lost. These references have been so thoroughly collected and so exhaustively studied that it seems sufficient to state, as a reasoned judgement, that the more they are investigated, the more evident their general truthfulness and accuracy become. Next in value, because of its almost contemporary date, is the testimony of the Armenian historians, especially Moses of Khoren and Elisaeus, reciting the struggle of their country with the Zoroastrian Sāsānid Empire. Another noteworthy source is found in the Acts and Passions of Persian Saints and Martyrs, especially in the great persecution under Šāhpuhr II (339-79). Written in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and (in at least one case) Armenian, they set forth the popular side of the religion, rather than its official

<sup>1</sup> F. C. Andreas, 'Die Entstehung des Awesta-Alphabetes und sein ursprünglicher Lautwert', in *Verhandlungen des XIII. internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Leyden, 1904, pp. 99-106; attempted reconstructions by Andreas and J. Wackernagel of Ys. xxx—xxxi in *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philologisch-historische Klasse, 1909, pp. 42-9; 1911, pp. 1-34; 1913, pp. 363-85; C. Bartholomae, 'Zum Lautwert der awestischen Vokalzeichen', in *WZKM* xxiv (1910), 129-79, and *Zur Kenntniss der mittelpersischen Mundarten*, vi (Heidelberg, 1926), 3 sqq.; A. Meillet, 'Sur le texte de l'Avesta', in *JA* XI, xv (1920), 187-203; H. Reichelt, 'Zur Beurteilung der awestischen Vulgata', in *WZKM* xxvii (1913), 53-64; H. Junker, *Das Awestaalphabet und der Ursprung der armenischen und georgischen Schrift*, Leipzig, 1927 = *Caucasica* i [1925], 1-92; ii [1926], 82-139).

aspect; and though they sometimes betray a suspicious vagueness, they frequently contain details of value, especially when one remembers that the saints and martyrs whom they celebrate were in many cases converts from Zoroastrianism to Christianity, so that they had a personal knowledge of the religion which they had once professed.<sup>1</sup> We must also mention the polemics against Zoroastrianism by two theologians, the Armenian Eznik of Kolb<sup>2</sup> and the Syrian Theodore, bar K<sup>h</sup>ôni,<sup>3</sup> as well as the detailed account by the Arab al-Šahrastānī.<sup>4</sup> Here also much has vanished. A certain George, martyred by Khusrū in 615, 'composed a book in which he refuted the religion of the Magians, revealing their shameful mysteries, which he knew well, and unveiling the ignominy of the doctrine of Zarādōšt';<sup>5</sup> and at the end of the fourth century (or the beginning of the fifth) Arra, followed by Bar Saldé, wrote a Syriac treatise against the Magians, while both Elišā bar Quzbayé (fifth century) and Yoḥannan de Bêth Rabban (sixth century) refuted Zoroastrian objections to Christianity.<sup>6</sup> For the Persian religion we have, besides the translations of the Achaemenian inscriptions already noted, epigraphic texts in Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek which represent Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius as showing reverence to Marduk, Neit, Osiris, Amon, the gods of Elephantine, Hermopolis

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Gray, 'Zoroastrian and other Ethnic Religious Material in the Acta Sanctorum', in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-4, pp. 37-55; Delehaye, *Actes*; Assemani, *Acta*; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*; Braun, *Akten*; Armenian Passion of S. Hiztibuzit (ed. *Vark' ev Vkeyabanut'iunk' Srboç*, Venice, 1874, ii, 124-30; tr. F. C. Conybeare, *Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity*, London, 1894, pp. 261-71; also ed. and tr., with valuable introduction, in *AS* IV Nov., 191-216); (Georgian) *Life of St. Nino*, tr. M. and J. O. Wardrop, Oxford, 1900. For canons of criticism of such documents see H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, 2d ed., Brussels, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. J. M. Schmid, *Des Wardapet Eznik von Kolb Wider die Sekten*, Vienna, 1900, pp. 89-146; see also L. Mariès, 'Le De Deo d'Eznik de Kolb connu sous le nom de "Contre les Sectes"', in *REA* iv (1924), 113-205; v (1925), 11-130.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. and tr. Pognon, *Coupees*, pp. 111-3, 161-5.

<sup>4</sup> Tr. T. Haarbrücker, *Abu'l-Fath' Muh'ammad asch-Schahrastānī's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, Halle, 1850-51, i, 275-85, 298-9; cf. also M. Hortén, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn, 1912, pp. 84-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicle of Seert*, ed. and tr. A. Scher, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xiii (Paris, 1919), 537.

<sup>6</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 67, 135, 115, 116.

Magna, Panopolis, etc., and Apollo,<sup>1</sup> while the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem by Cyrus and Darius, like the royal favour of Artaxerxes Longimanus toward the Jews and their religion, is universally known.<sup>2</sup> The remaining foreign allusions to the Iranian religions, whether Persian or Avestan, are of minor importance.

If the Avesta text as we now possess it seems to be composite in character, the religion likewise appears to reveal more than one stratum. There is, first of all, a certain amount common both to Iran and to India, though perhaps much less than is usually supposed unless one feels compelled to assume that identity of name necessarily denotes identity of being and function. The major portion, however, apparently represents a specifically Iranian religion, probably that of northern Media; and another stratum seems to have come, as we have already suggested, from Persia. There may also be a few traces of Babylonian influence, as in the astrological fatalism of the Dīnā-Māinōg-i-Xrat (prior to the twelfth century),<sup>3</sup> and there appears to be, especially in the later period, some amount of what is neither Indo-European, Semitic, nor Iranian, though the origin of this is so uncertain that, to avoid unwarranted precision, it may provisionally best be termed 'allogeneous'.<sup>4</sup> Egyptian influence is perhaps

<sup>1</sup> E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, ii (Berlin, 1890), 120-7; C. P. Tiele, 'Cyrus de Groote en de godsdienst van Babel', in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, Leyden, 1896, pp. 307-12 (cf. A. van Hoonacker, ib. pp. 325-9); H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, Leipzig, 1883-91, pp. 639-40, 693-4, and *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh*, do. 1878, pp. 23-4, 25, 27-33, 48-52; W. Golénischeff, 'Stèle de Darius aux environs de Tell el-Maskhoutah', in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xiii (1890), 99-109 (especially p. 106; cf. also G. Daressy, ib. xi [1889], 170); S. Birch, 'Inscription of Darius in the Temple of El-Khargeh', in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, v (1877), 293-302 (the translation also in *Records of the Past*, viii [1876], 137-44); W. M. Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt from the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties*, London, 1905, pp. 361-2, 365-7; G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, 'Lettre de Darius, fils d'Hystaspes', in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, xiii (1889), 529-42; L. H. Gray, 'The Religion of the Achaemenians according to their Non-Iranian Inscriptions', in *JAOS* xxi (1900), 177-84.

<sup>2</sup> For Cyrus see II Chronicles xxxvi, 22-3; Ezra i, 1-11; v, 13-5, 17; vi, 3-5 (cf. Isaiah xliv, 28—xlv, 5); for Darius, Ezra vi, 1-13 (cf. Daniel vi, 25-7); for Artaxerxes Longimanus, Ezra vii, 11-26.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 301; cf. Casartelli, *Philosophy*, p. 33; L. H. Gray, in *ERE* v, 792; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 86-7, 236-43.

<sup>4</sup> Moulton, *EZ* pp. 191-3, 204-8, and 'Magi', in *ERE* viii, 242-4; cf. M. S. Zaborowski, *Les Peuples aryens d'Asie et d'Europe*, Paris, 1908, pp. 189-96. The Magi were most probably Median priests, regarded with hostility by the Persians (for a possible explanation of the Persian festival of the Magophonia ['Magi-Slaughter'] cf. L. H. Gray, in *ERE* v, 874-5).

traceable in Old Persian art, but there is no certain indication of any Iranian religious borrowing from this source, neither can one safely allege any effect upon it from the cults of the Elamites.<sup>1</sup>

The statement that the religion of the Avesta is composite must, however, receive essential qualification, for the non-Iranian (i.e., non-Median and non-Persian) elements are of very minor importance. The faith of Iran seems to have formed, in all vital respects, an independent and individual religious entity. It was in no real sense a subdivision of some larger group, whether Indian or any other. Yet there was indubitably a bond between the Iranians and the Indians which justifies the use of the term 'Indo-Iranian' in more than a linguistic sense. This bond, however, was broken at an early period, with the linguistic result that words etymologically identical assumed meanings diametrically opposed, so that, to cite an out-standing instance, *devā-* means 'god' in Sanskrit, but *daēva-* is 'demon' in Avesta, whereas the Avesta *ahura-* 'lord' is the Sanskrit *āsura-* 'demon'. Similarly the Sanskrit *grhā-* 'house' has a perfectly good signification, but its Avesta counterpart *garəša-* is employed only for the abode of evil beings, *dəmāna-* or *nmāna-* being the term for mansions of the good. This curious double vocabulary of the Avesta with one word for an 'Ahurian' being and another for the 'Daēvian' has given rise to much conjecture.<sup>2</sup> A close examination of the sixty Avesta terms of this type, however, leads to the conclusion that the greater number of Ahurian words were common throughout the Iranian Plateau, whereas the Daēvian words, though common in Sanskrit and in Middle and Modern Indian, were archaic or obsolete in Iran.<sup>3</sup> The solution of the problem seems to lie in the history of the Plateau; not in any religious cleavage, but in migrations from Inner Asia toward the south.

It is practically certain that the Iranians entered the Plateau as invaders, though we do not know the race or races whom they there supplanted. Some may have been represented in the historic period by the Elamites and Cassites, whose language is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> P. von Bradke, *Dyāus Asura, Ahura Mazdā und die Asuras*, Halle, 1885; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 430-44; Haug, *Essays*, pp. 287 sqq.; L. Frachtenburg, 'Etymological Studies in Ormazdian and Ahrimanian Words in Avestan', in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 269-89; H. Güntert, *Über die ahurischen und daēvischen Ausdrücke im Avesta*, Heidelberg, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Gray, 'The "Ahurian" and "Daevian" Vocabularies in the Avesta', in *JRAS* 1927, pp. 427-41.

held to belong to the Caucaso-Asiatic group;<sup>1</sup> and it is probable that Elam also contained a negro element to whom traditions still refer and of whom traces still exist.<sup>2</sup>

The Indo-Iranians seem to have advanced into the Iranian Plateau by a series of waves passing, in the course of centuries, through the mountain-gaps to the east of the Caspian, just as other waves migrated from the same centre to new homes in the Balto-Slavic lands.<sup>3</sup> The first incomers in the Plateau, who retained the Indo-European sharp sibilant *s*, went, doubtless by compulsion, further and further south and south-east. Other waves, changing this *s* to *h* when initial,<sup>4</sup> followed, some going to the west and settling in Aðarbaijān, some to what is now Kurdistan, some to Persis in the south-west, some to the east in Sīstān (i.e., Sākastān 'Scythland') and Afyānistān; the desert centre forbade lasting habitation. The second chapter of the Vidēvdāt, it has been suggested,<sup>5</sup> preserves a tradition of three stages of the Iranian advance, each occupying a successive third of the Plateau. Very probably these invaders partly exterminated and partly absorbed the aborigines, receiving in turn modifications of physique, language, religion, and civilisation, though in how great degree we may not thus far know. The *s*-speakers were finally expelled by the *h*-speakers. Some few seem to have found a refuge in the Hindū-Kūš, but the great majority made their way through the mountain-passes and entered the Panjāb, the *h*-speakers remaining in Iran. The *s*-speakers were the Indians of the historic period, and the *h*-speakers were the Iranians. Thus one may explain both the similarity and the difference between Veda and Avesta; and it

<sup>1</sup> C. Autran, in A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les Langues du monde*, Paris, 1924, pp. 282-3, 285-90; F. Finck, *Die Sprachstämme des Erdkreises*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 41; Schrader, *RL* i, 543-4; F. Bork, 'Elam', in M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, iv (Berlin, 1925), 72-83; cf. also Justi, in *GirP* ii, 399-402.

<sup>2</sup> M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Paris, 1890-2, pp. 27-32, 57-8, and F. Houssaye, ib. pp. 102-13 (= *Les Races humaines de la Perse*, Lyons, 1887, pp. 28-48); Sykes, *History*, i, 51-2; and see in general J. von Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906-10, i, 8-49.

<sup>3</sup> The author hopes to demonstrate this theory in detail elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Sanskrit *saptá*- 'seven,' Latin *septem*, Old Irish *sechte*, Gothic *siþun*; Avesta *hapta*-, Armenian *evn*-, Greek *ἑπτά* (Indo-European \**septm*).

<sup>5</sup> L. H. Gray, in *ERE* ii, 704; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 178-9, regards it as a description of the Arsacid Empire, and Carnoy, *Mythology*, pp. 254, 312, 314, 351, interprets it mythologically.



would seem justifiable to assume that, if the migrations actually took place as here outlined, (a) the Indians were more advanced in civilisation when they entered India than were the Iranians at their invasion of the Plateau, and (b) that the Veda is older in date of composition than the Avesta.<sup>1</sup>

Established in Iran, the newcomers became an agricultural people. The land was now fully populated, and no further waves of immigrants could be admitted. Nevertheless, hosts from the north still pressed for entrance, and in their turn the Iranians were exposed to attack. They termed their foes Tūrānians, and a superficial reading of the Avesta and of its ancillary literature has led many to suppose that these enemies were of an alien race. Yet the Avesta itself shows that the Tūrānians had the same type of names and worshipped the same gods with the same rites as the Iranians.<sup>2</sup> It is practically certain that both groups were Iranians, the sole difference being that the Iranians proper were sedentary, and the Tūrānians nomadic. True aliens entered Iran only at a far later date, first with the Arab conquest and then with the inroads of the Turco-Tatar hordes, who struck a blow at Persia from which she has never fully recovered.

The religions of Iran as set forth in the historic sources both native and foreign seem to have behind them a long evolution and to rest upon foundations which had become almost, if not wholly, forgotten in the lapse of centuries. The reconstruction of the original and primitive system is, then, of interest as a chapter in the history of man's religious development, which almost certainly led, in Iran as in Israel, from a vague belief in countless *numina* presiding over nearly every conceivable function of nature and of human activity to an evernarrowing but ever more potent and more noble group of divinities until it reached the tremendous concept of Jehovah and Ahura Mazda, and the gods were merged in God.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Keith, *Religion*, pp. 614-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yt. v, 41-5, 73; ix, 18, 22; xi, 7; xiii, 37-9; xvii, 55-6; xix, 56-64, 77, 82, 93. The Avesta *tūra-* is probably to be compared with the Kurdish and Baxtiārī *tūr* 'wild, savage' (cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 656), and may also be connected with Sanskrit *turá-* 'strong, mighty' (for further possible cognates see Persson, *Beiträge*, pp. 479-84). Feis (*Kultur*, p. 405) identifies the Tūrānians with the Scyths (see also Marquart, *Erānshahr*, pp. 155-7).



The theory underlying the endeavour here made to reconstruct these foundations owes its genesis mainly to two passages, one Iranian and referring to the Avestan system, and the other Greek, describing the Persian beliefs. In the Pahlavi *Sāyast-lā-Sāyast* (xv, 5) we read as follows: ' (In) the world that which is mine, who am Aūharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohūman are the cattle, of Arjavahišt is the fire, of Satvairō is the metal, of Spandarmač are the earth and virtuous women, of Horvadač is the water, and of Amerōdač is the vegetation', an affirmation of the twofold nature of the Aməša Spentas—one divine and the other material—which is also recorded elsewhere in Iranian texts.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Herodotus, speaking of the Persians, has this striking passage (i, 131): ' Their custom is to ascend to the highest peaks of the mountains and to make oblation to Zeus, calling the whole vault of the sky Zeus;<sup>2</sup> and they sacrifice also to Sun and to Moon and to Earth and to Fire and to Water and to Winds'. Assuming, as it seems only right to assume, that nothing whatever is said in religious texts without some foundation, good and sufficient to those who declare it, it would appear to follow that every statement—not merely selected data—should be evaluated in relation to every other statement, truth being probably attainable, at least approximately, by the final result of all such evaluations with due consideration of the general spirit of the special system as a whole and with the sum total of data which have gained scientific recognition in all other branches of science. This has been the one and only axiom of the studies in this volume. Of course, one need not give blind credence to every single detail, and one should make proper allowance for the ' mythopoeic' tendency; but one should never discard a statement or a tradition because at first sight it seems improbable or even absurd. Each should be carefully and sympathetically studied to remove all possible accretions so as to discover the historic fact which it contains. Any other course of procedure seems deficient in scientific completeness and exactness.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Gray, ' Pahlavi, Pāzand, and Persian References to the Double Nature of the Amshaspands', in *Indo-Iranian Studies... in Honour of* ... Sanjana, London, 1925, pp. 21-9. Against this view see the polemic of B. Geiger, *Aməša Spəntas*, pp. 123-9.

<sup>2</sup> Moulton, *EZ* p. 391, note 3, is scarcely correct in suggesting that Δία is here an Old Persian form (the Δία· τὸν οὐρανόν. Πέρσαι of Hesychios is apparently borrowed from the passage in Herodotus), for this, corresponding to Sanskrit *dyāus* (accusative *dyām*, *dīvam*), would be \**dyāuš* (accusative \**dyām*, \**dīvam*), which would not be represented in any sense by Δία. The deity's Persian name may, however, actually have been \**Diyāuš* (see below, p. 27, note 1).

In pursuance of this method each superhuman being, whether divine or demonic, both of the Persian and of the Avestan religion has been studied;<sup>1</sup> all the extant data, native or foreign, regarding each of these figures have been gathered and presented; since one may assume that all epithets of deities or of demons, except possibly the most general and colourless, were given for some perfectly definite reason, these have been duly considered,<sup>2</sup> as has every important theophorous human name;<sup>3</sup> a chronological sequence has been adopted in all references so far as this is permitted by the highly composite nature of the documents, where criticism, in the almost total absence of history, is not yet able exactly to classify the various elements in the order of their evolution; light has been sought from the recognised principles of comparative linguistics and comparative religion, though in regard to the latter it should be borne in mind that it is the differences rather than the resemblances (which often arise from entirely dissimilar causes, and which are very frequently more apparent than real) which mark the genius and the individuality of a religion, as of any other phase of life and its activities; the various conclusions, however divergent, of all Iranian scholars to whose sound judgement respect must attach have been recorded; each noteworthy analogue in the superhuman beings of other Indo-European and of Semitic religions has been pointed out, although, *bien entendu*, merely as a parallel and only in rare cases (exclusively Vedic) as truly akin; special attention and first place have naturally been given to the Veda in all comparisons.

In stating my own conclusions I have sought so to arrange the material as to distinguish clearly between the data of the Iranian texts, the references in ancient non-Iranian documents, and all interpretations and theories, whether of my predecessors or of myself. In no case have I sought *a priori* to demonstrate that such-and-such a deity or demon had such-and-such an origin. Beginning the discussion of a superhuman being, I have seldom known where the investigation was to lead me; I have simply let the evidence carry me where it would.

<sup>1</sup> After some hesitation Yima has been omitted. Though an important figure in Iranian mythology, he seems neither to have been originally nor to have become a deity, as did his Indian counterpart Yama. Concerning Yima-Yama see Spiegel, *Periode*, pp 243-56, and *EA* i, 522-30; Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 231-3, and *ZA* ii, 16-20; Carnoy, *Mythology*, pp. 254, 304-19, 351; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 171-4.

<sup>2</sup> See L. H. Gray, 'A List of the Divine and Demonic Epithets in the Avesta', in *JAOS* xlvii (1926), 97-153.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Justi, *Namenbuch*, which now may be considerably supplemented.

The conclusions reached in accordance with these principles and methods may be very briefly summarised. The Iranian religions, both Persian and Avestan, represent in their original forms a simple cult of deities, both 'good' and 'evil', of nature and of human activities, many of these superhuman personages being 'departmental' or 'special' gods and demons. With the spiritual and material evolution of the Iranians these beings became ethically good or evil; the lesser gave place to the greater and became obsolescent in varying degree, while the greater gained in power for weal or woe. Finally, in the Gāthās, Zoroaster stamped upon these simple faiths the impress of his monotheistic ideal; and though the old beliefs lingered on, their traces were so vague that only patient and hazardous research can still discern them. Non-moral and multiform Nature had been ethicised and unified. All the host that had once been beneficent or maleficent deities were gods no longer; now there was, in reality, only an omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent Ahura Mazda confronted by an Aṇra Mainyu doomed to defeat and shame.

In their beginnings, then, the Iranian religions would seem to have been far more primitive than the Vedic. If we seek to find their analogues elsewhere among the Indo-Europeans, it can be only among the early Romans,<sup>1</sup> the heathen Lithuanians and Latvians,<sup>2</sup> and possibly the Gaulish and British Celts,<sup>3</sup> while in the Semitic world the pagan Arabs<sup>4</sup> and the primitive Canaanites<sup>5</sup> appear to show phenomena that are comparable. As Moses and the Prophets changed belief in the B'ālīm to the religion of Jehovah, so, we may firmly hold, Zoroaster transmuted, independently and with no aid from without, the nature-creeeds of Iran into the lofty, virile faith of Ahura Mazda, performing a service even greater than has heretofore been realised.

<sup>1</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 18-60, 103-293; R. Peter, 'Indigitamenta', in Roscher, ii, 129-233; Richter, 'Indigitamenta', in *PW* ix, 1334-67; R. S. Conway, 'Italy (Ancient)', in *ERE* vii, 457-61.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 79-115; Enid Welsford, 'Old Prussians', in *ERE* ix, 486-90; an exhaustive study of the pre-Christian Prussian, Lithuanian, and Latvian religion is in course of preparation by the present writer.

<sup>3</sup> Renel, *Religions*; Dottin, *Manuel*, pp. 294-356; C. Jullian, *Recherches sur la religion gauloise*, Bordeaux, 1903, and *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris, 1908-26, i, 356-60; ii, 113-81; Holder, *Sprachschatz, passim*; Mac Culloch, *Religion*, pp. 22-48, 124-6.

<sup>4</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed., Berlin, 1897; T. Nöldeke, 'Arabs (Ancient)', in *ERE* i, 659-73.

<sup>5</sup> L. P. Paton, 'Canaanites', in *ERE* iii, 176-88.

# BOOK I.

## THE IRANIAN PANTHEON.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE AMƏŠA SPƏNTAS.

##### *Section A.*

##### THE AMƏŠA SPƏNTAS AS A GROUP.

THE divine heptad of the Iranians is first termed Aməša Spəntas ('Immortal Holy Ones')<sup>1</sup> in the Gāthic prose of the Haptaŋ-hāiti (Ys. xxxix, 3; xlii, 6).<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless the Gāēās name either all seven of them—Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, Aša Vahišta, Xšaəra Vairya, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt (Ys. xxxiv, 11; xlv, 10; xlvii, 1), or only six (Ys. xxxi, 6, 21), or merely five (Ys. xxxiii, 11; xliii, 6; xlvi, 16; li, 4). When only six are mentioned, Ārmaiti is omitted; when only five, Haurvatāt and Amərətāt.

In the Younger Avesta the 'Immortal Holy Ones' are forms assumed by Ahura Mazda (Yt. xiii, 81); they are seven in number, like to their father, Ahura Mazda, in thought, word, and deed (Yt. xiii, 83; xix, 16); their paths are bright as they fly to the libations (Yt. xiii, 84; xix, 17); and Aši is their sister (Yt. xvii, 2). By an extension of the term to include all worshipful beings, one passage (Vsp. viii, 1) declares that they number 111,150, and even more.

They are named in the following lists: Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaəra, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt (Ys. lvii, 24; lxx, 2—associated in the latter passage with Gəuš Tašan, Gəuš Urvan, and Ātar; Yt. x, 92); Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaəra, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt (Ys. i, 2—associated with Gəuš Tašan, Gəuš Urvan, and Ātar; Yt. i, 25); and they seem to be enumerated likewise in a late text (HN i, 4-6) which states that he who lauds Aša praises Ahura Mazda, the

<sup>1</sup> The connexion proposed by Geiger (*Aməša Spəntas*, pp. 6-31) with Sanskrit *pan-*, 'to be admirable', *pānya-*, 'wonderful', etc., seems less probable than the usual view (e.g. Bartholomae, *AltWb.*, col. 1621) that *spənta-* is cognate with Lithuanian *sveñtas*, Old Church Slavonic *svěntŭ*, 'holy' (Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 311).

<sup>2</sup> For this portion of the Avesta see especially Baunack, *Studien*, pp. 328-461.

Waters (Haurvatāt), the Earth (Ārmaiti), Kine (Vohu Manah), Vegetation (Amərətāt), and 'all good things created by Mazda, possessed of Aša's seed' (Xšaθra).

In the Pahlavi texts the Amšaspands are described as radiant and 'each one successively is apparently one finger's breadth shorter than the other' (ZS xxi, 13, 23), one being created from another by emanation (Phl. Jām. 3). They are listed in their conventional order (Bd. i, 26), and reference is repeatedly made to their two-fold nature—spiritual and material (Gd. Bd., ed. Anklesaria, pp. 33: 15-34: 2; 34: 13-35: 3; 35: 8-10; 35: 15-36: 4; 36: 10-13; 37: 3-6; 37: 10-12; 163: 8-9; 164: 11-13; 168: 13-14; 170: 11-12; 171: 2-5; 173: 4-5; 174: 3-5; 178: 1, 11-13; 179: 9, 12-14; SIS xiii, 14; xv, 5, 7-29; ZS xxii, 3-12; Patīt-i-Xūt 4-10; Patīt-i-Ātūrpāt 10-16; Patīt-i-Īrānīg 3-9; SDBd. ii; xi, 3).<sup>1</sup> In Manichaean fragments they form the bodyguard of Ohrmīzd;<sup>2</sup> and the word מְחִרְסָפָד may actually be translated 'element', notably in the Sogdian version of Gal. iv, 3.<sup>3</sup>

The Aməša Spəntas have been regarded as Iranian counterparts of the Vedic Ādityas<sup>4</sup> or of the Babylonian Igigi and Anunnaki,<sup>5</sup> but evidence in favour of either of these theories is scanty.<sup>6</sup> In like manner the six Elamite deities, grouped in two triads and associated with the Lord of Susa (Sušinak),<sup>7</sup> are. Professor Stephen Langdon kindly informs the writer,<sup>8</sup> 'probably only an accident'. The true source of the 'Immorta

<sup>1</sup> See the present writer's 'Pahlavi, Pāzand, and Persian References to the Double Nature of the Amshaspands', in *Indo-Iranian Studies... in Honour of... Sanjana*, London, 1925, pp. 21-9. Meillet, *Conférences*, p. 61, regards these beings as the 'cortège des forces bienfaisantes qui accompagnent Ahura Mazdā' (cf. ib. p. 67: 'ce n'est pas de dieux, c'est de forces actives qu'est entouré Ahura Mazdā').

<sup>2</sup> C. Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii (Petrograd, 1912), 9, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, p. 98, and in *SBAW* 1907, p. 265; F. C. Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 4. The word appears in Chinese as *moholosapen* (Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, pp. 544, 101).

<sup>4</sup> So most recently and with great detail by Geiger, *Aməša Spəntas* pp. 164-245. For the Ādityas see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 43-6; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 3-110; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 98-101, 102-3, 217.

<sup>5</sup> Notably by Moulton, *EZ* pp. 98-9, 240; R. Pettazzoni, 'Aməša-spəntas e Ādityas', in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, vii (1909), 3-14, connected the Aməša Spəntas with the planets and with Babylonia but does not present this view in his later *Religione*.

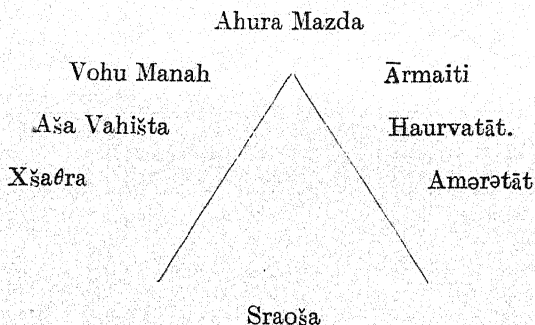
<sup>6</sup> Against the view that they are Iranian Ādityas see Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, iii, 102-5; for the Igigi and Anunnaki see Jastrow, *Religion*, pp. 184-6, 204, 207, 236, 593; cf. also Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 66-7, 70-1.

<sup>7</sup> J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, iv (Paris, 1886), 178.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of April 30, 1924.

Holy Ones' seems to have been within Iran itself, and it would appear that they were the Eastern Iranian analogues of the Western Iranian deities of whom Herodotus speaks (i, 131; cf. Strabo, p. 732; Zenobius, *Ἐπιτομή ἐκ τῶν Ταρπαίων καὶ Διδύμων παροιμιῶν*, v, 78; Aristides, *Apologia*, iv, 2—vi, 3) when he says that the Persian custom is 'to ascend to the highest peaks of the mountains, and to offer sacrifices to Zeus, calling the entire vault of the sky *Δία*; and they sacrifice also to Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Water, and Winds'.<sup>1</sup> The Scythians likewise worshipped a heptad consisting of Tabiti, identified with Hestia; Papaïos, corresponding to Zeus, and his wife Apia (Ge); Oitosyros (variant forms Goitosyros and Gongosyros), equivalent to Apollo; Artimpasa (variants Argimpasa and Artimeasa), parallel with the 'Celestial' Aphrodite; 'Herakles'; 'Ares'; and (among the Royal Scyths) Thamimasadas (or Thagimasada), identified with Poseidon (Herodotus, iv. 59). It is a moot question whether these names are to be explained as Iranian or as Old Turkish,<sup>2</sup> but in any case the number seven may be significant.

According to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 4, the order of the Aməša Spəntas at the divine court is as follows:<sup>3</sup>



A group of seven chief deities<sup>4</sup> would seem to have been a concept common to Eastern and Western Iranians, as well as to

<sup>1</sup> Tiele's skepticism regarding the accuracy of Herodotus's account of the Old Persian cults (*Religion*, ii, 361-9) seems rather excessive.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6.

<sup>3</sup> Translated by Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 306; cf. Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, 46.

<sup>4</sup> The suggestion of Scheffelowitz (*Judentum*, p. 133, note 4) that the heptad is formed by analogy with the seven princes attending upon the King of Persia (Herodotus iii, 31, etc.) lacks probability. For heptads in Gnosticism see Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 9-58, 237, 354.

some Scythic tribes; and the number remains constant even though the members of the heptad are not invariably the same. The heptad may be considered a distinctive characteristic of this group of religions, since it appears not to occur in the Semitic or in the non-Iranian Indo-European systems. It would further seem that the original East Iranian heptad was so profoundly—and, we may add, deliberately—ethicised by the reform associated with the name of Zoroaster as, at least temporarily, and in part permanently, to obliterate nearly every trace of its primal meaning. A similar process was apparently carried out in the case of the great majority of minor deities and of demonic beings, so that only by reconstruction of scattered fragments can we hope to rebuild the pantheon and the pandemonium of the primitive Iranian religion or religions.

### *Section B.*

#### AHURA MAZDA.

Mentioned in practically every strophe of the *Gāthās*, and associated, as the following Sections will show, with all the *Aməša Spəntas*<sup>1</sup> and with many other deities, Ahura Mazda grants rewards for good deeds (*Ys.* xxviii, 4). Appeal is made to him as the source of holy doctrine (*Ys.* xxviii, 11) and of divine wisdom (*Ys.* xxxi, 3), so that he decides on the plaint of the Ox (*Ys.* xxix, 4-6) and is judge of the acts done in this earthly life (*Ys.* xxxi, 8).

Even the spiritualised *Gāthās* reveal traces of Ahura Mazda's earlier naturalistic character. He first filled the heavenly realms with light (xxx, 7) and he can not be deceived (xlv, 4), for with his shining eye he observes all things (xxx, 13), so that whatsoever is 'worthful in the eye, the light of the sun, the shining bull of the days', is for the glory of him and Aša (I, 10). He clothes himself with the sky (xxx, 5) and dwells in the Realm of Vohu Manah beside the straight paths that lead to Aša (xxxiii, 5). Great stress is laid on his creations. He brings forth rivers and forests, gives swiftness to wind and cloud, fixes the course of sun and stars, and causes the moon to wax and wane; from him come light and darkness, sleep and waking, morning, noon, night, and the seasons (xliv, 3-5); he is the creator of all (xliv, 7), of life (xlv, 4; I, 11), of primal individualities (xlvi, 6), and of kine, waters, and plants (II, 7). He formed Aša through his wisdom (xxx, 7), and is the father of Vohu Manah

<sup>1</sup> See Sections on Vohu Manah (b)-(g); Aša (b)-(g); Xšaθra (b) Armaiti (b); Haurvatāt and Ameretāt (b).

and the creator of Aša (xxxi, 8), the father of Vohu Manah and Armaiti (xlv, 4), of Aša (xlvii, 2), and of Spānta Mainyu (xlvii, 3) while Armaiti and Gōuš Tašan are his (xxxi, 9).

He has special fellowship with Vohu Manah and Aša (liii, 3 ; cf. xxxii, 2, etc.) ; to man he teaches Vohu Manah (xxxi, 7), through whose wisdom he knows secret sayings (xlviii, 3) ; and he learns all through Aša (xxxi, 13), by whom he caused vegetation to grow for cattle 'at the birth of the first life' (xlviii, 6), and with whom he devised holy doctrine (li, 16). The righteous will abide in his house (xlviii, 7 ; xlix, 10 ; contrast the 'house of the Druj' as hell, xlix, 11 ; li, 14) ; he is besought to increase the body through Vohu Manah, Xšaθra, and Aša (xxx, 10) ; and he will grant Aməretāt, Aša, and the Realm of Haurvatāt (xxxiv, 1).

Throughout the Gāthās Ahura forms with Vohu Manah and Aša a *quasi*-triad which suggests (a) the triad of Sky, Sun, and Fire corresponding approximately to the Vedic triad of Sky, Mid-Air, and (earthly) Fire (Varuṇa, Indra [or Sūrya], and Agni) or even to the triple aspect of Agni ;<sup>1</sup> and (b) the ethical triad Good Thought, Good Word, and Good Deed.<sup>2</sup>

In the Haptaŋhāiti Ahura Mazda has the form of the sun (Ys. xxxvi, 6), is a Yazata (xli, 3), and has nine wives, 'desirable according to Aša' (xxxviii, 1-2) : Īzā, Yaošti, Fərašti, Armaiti, Aši, Īš, Azūiti, Frasasti, and Pārəndi. He created the waters (xxxviii, 3-4), and his fairest forms are the sun on high and the light on earth (xxxvi, 6).

In the Younger Avesta (Ys. xvi, 1 ; Yt. xvii, 16), as in the Old Persian inscriptions (Dar. Pers. d, 1-2 ; Dar. Gold Tablet, 6-7 ; Xerx. Elv. 1-2 ; Xerx. Van, 1-2), Ahura Mazda is the 'greatest of the gods', and special emphasis is laid on his creative power (Aog. 30). Only he and Spānta Mainyu have the epithet *daδvah-* 'creator', while the terms *dātar-* 'creator' and *vispa-taš-* 'all-shaping' are given to him alone. He made the paths of sun, moon, and stars (Vd. xxi, 5, 9, 13) ; he created and named the waters, which come from him (Ys. lxvii, 6-7, 10) ; he is the source of waters and plants (Ys. i, 12 ; xvii, 12) and of the earth (Vd. xix, 35) ; he created beings through Vohu Manah and will increase them through Aša (Vsp. xii, 4) ; and he shaped both cattle and men (Ys. xii, 7). Mention is made of his creative

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 19, 54, 69, 93.

<sup>2</sup> See also below, pp. 28-9, 36.



light (Ys. lviii, 6) and of his eyes—doubtless the sun and moon (Ys. lviii, 22). The 'swift-horsed' sun is expressly termed his eye (Ys. i, 11; iii, 13; iv, 16; vii, 13; xxii, 13), just as in the Rîg Veda the sun is the eye of Mitra-Varuṇa (VI, li, 1; VII, lxi, 1; lxiii, 1; X, xxxvii, 1). He is eternal and wears a star-decked robe made by spirits (Yt. xiii, 3); his 'white, bright, forth-beaming soul' is Mašra Spənta, and his fairest forms are the Aməša Spəntas, whose father and ruler he is (Yt. xiii, 81-3). His wives are mentioned (Vsp. iii, 4; G. iv, 9), and he is the father of Armaiti (Vd. xix, 13, 16), for whom he made a path above the orb of the sun (Yt. v, 90), and by whom he became the parent of Aši (Yt. xvii, 2, 16), while Ātar is his son (Ys. 0, 2, 11; ii, 3, 12; iii, 2, 14, 21, *et passim*). He is a healing deity (Vsp. ix, 1), and his messenger is Mašra (Yt. xiii, 146) or Nairyō-Sərəha (Vd. xix, 34). He is associated with Aša (Āfr. iii, 6) and with Armaiti (Vd. viii, 21), as well as with Miθra, Rašnu, and Armaiti (Yt. xiii, 3). Nevertheless he offers sacrifice to 'Arədvī' (Yt. v, 17-9), and with Vāta Dāmōiš Upamana, Xvarənah, and Savah he attends the sacrifice presented by those imploring aid (Yt. xii, 4). He is apparently identified with Spənta Mainyu (Yt. xiii, 28) and is frequently termed 'Most Holy Spirit' (Ys. i, 1; xix, 1; Yt. i, 1; x, 73; xiv, 1, 34, 42; Āfr. iv, 4; Vd. ii, 1; vii, 1; ix, 1; x, 1; xiv, 1; xviii, 14; HN i, 1; ii, 1, 19). The first Yašt, which is in his honour, contains a somewhat mechanical list of seventy-four (or, deducting repetitions, sixty-eight) names. His most distinctive Avestan epithets are *aša-hač-* ('having Aša following'), *xratumant-* ('wise'), *durəz-darštar-* ('far-seer'), *pouru-darštar-* ('many-seeing'), *fšūmant-* ('possessing cattle'), *baēšazyā-* ('healing'), *raēvant-* ('radiant'), *vaθwya-* ('relating to herds'), *vispā-hisat-* ('all-perceiving'), *spaštār-* ('observer'), *znātār-* ('knower'). He shares with Aša the epithet *sraēšta-* ('most beautiful'), and with Miθra *asaoya-* ('undeceivable'), *xšayant-* ('ruling'), and *vispō-vīšvant-* ('all-knowing'); and there may be a hint of attempted syncretism in the *aša (vahišta)* and *čisti* of his name-list.

In the Old Persian inscriptions, where the name is always written Auramazdā, except in Xerx. Pers. c, 10 (where it is divided as in the Avesta), and Dar. Pers. e, 24 (where Aura occurs alone), this deity is the creator of sky, earth, man, and human welfare (NR. a, 1-4; Xerx. Pers. a, 1-4; etc.); by his grace the King receives both throne and power (Bh. i, 11-12; etc.); he grants the monarch victory in battle (Bh. i, 54-5, *et passim*); the sovereign does all things through his aid (Bh. i, 68-71; iv, 46-7; NR. a, 49-51; Xerx. Pers. a, 11-17; b, 23-6); he is a witness to the truth (Bh. iv, 44-5), rewarding verity and

virtue, but punishing deceit (Bh. iv, 54-67, 73-80); and he is besought to bring divine assistance (Dar. Pers. d, 13-23; NR a, 51-5; etc.). The Achaemenian triad of Auramazdā, Anāhita, and Mišra (Art. Sus. a, 4-5 [Babylonian and Elamitic]; Art. Ham. 5-6) seems to find an echo in the 'Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana' whom Chosroes II commanded the Christians to adore.<sup>1</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Aūharmazd dwells in the region of light (Bd. i, 2), and the sky is his vesture (Dk. IX, xxx, 7). His successive creations were Vohūman (Bd. i, 23; Dk. III, xi, 3; IV, 1; cf. IX, liii, 24; lxix, 47), Artavahišt, Šatvāirō, Spendarmač, Horvadač, and Amerōdač (Bd. i, xxv); and he holds royal court in heaven, Vohūman, Artavahišt, and Šatvāirō being on his right hand, Spendarmač, Horvadač, and Amerōdač on his left, and Srōš before him (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 4). He created water, vegetation, animals, and the law of the primitive religion (Dk. IX, xlv, 8), as well as fortune and weal (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 1); and he is the cause of destiny (Dk. III, cxcii, 1), alone understanding the nature of Zrūvān (ib. IV, xxxi). His creatures live through Horvadač, are immortal through Amerōdač, possess complete mindfulness through Spendarmač, and have him as their ruler through Šatvāirō (Dk. IX, xliii, 2). Tištar, Satavēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīvsūr, Vāt, Hōm, Dīn, Būrj, and the Fravašis execute his mandates concerning rain (Dk. III, cxii, 5); and he discourses with Vohūman and Artavahišt, as well as with the other Amšaspands (Dk. VII, ii, 17, 19). The angel of his fire is Ātar (AVN x, 6); and Neryōsang is his remembrancer (Dk. V, iv, 6) as well as his messenger (GF iii, 72, 77-9), other envoys being Spendarmač, Arēdvīvsūr, and Artā-ī-Fravart (ZS xvi, 3), Vohūman, Ašavahišt, and Ātar (Dk. VII, iv, 74-5), Srōš and Neryōsang (Phl. Jām. iv, 2), or Neryōsang alone (Dk. VII, iv, 84). Aūharmazd is separate from Spēnta Mainyu (Dk. III, xi, 2; Phl. Jām. iv, 2) and is visible in human form, though intangible (SIS xv, 1-3; cf. DD xix, 2). He who distresses priest or parent distresses Aūharmazd (SD xl, 1-2), whose earthly symbol is the righteous man, and whose arm is Zrūvān (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 5, 13). His gift is 'the august rank and throne of a champion', and he is essentially creative (SIS xxii, 1; xxiii, 1).

As the creator (*daδvrah-*) Ahura Mazda presides over the tenth month of the Avestan year (Āfr. iii, 11; cf. the Cappadocian name Δαθουσα and its variants for the same month), which was called Dīn (Avestan \**daēna-*, Indo-European \**deinos-*,

<sup>1</sup> AS V Jun., 166.

'shining, bright')<sup>1</sup> in the Pahlavi texts (Bd. xxv, 20). As the 'Great God' (Masafûy) he was lord of this month in the Sogdian calendar, and as the 'Nameless' (Anāmaka) in the Old Persian; he likewise presided over the first, eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days of every Avestan month (Sir. i, 1, 8, 15, 23; ii, 1, 8, 15, 23; SIS xxii, 1, 8, 15, 23; xxiii, 1-4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24), and the fifteenth day of each Armenian month was called Aramazd.

In Manichaeism Ahura Mazda, under the form of Xurmuzta, becomes Primal Man, and a Turfān fragment mentions his spear.<sup>2</sup> Making the fire-god his axe, Xurmuzta cleaves a demon's head and bestows upon the deity a lance seventy myriad miles in length.<sup>3</sup>

In Armenia King Tiridates invokes rich fertility from mighty Aramazd, who is the father of all gods, Mihr being his son, and Anahit and Nanēa his daughters; kings were buried at his altars in Ani; and his scribe was Tir.<sup>4</sup> He created heaven and earth (Agathangelos, 133), and was the thunder-god worshipped at dawn (Moses of Khoren, ii, 86). His girdle was the rainbow (Thomas Artsruni, i, 1), and in one passage (ib. i, 2) Aramazd is said to have been the name given in Armenia to Di ('God').<sup>5</sup> An idol of Di=Zeus is mentioned in the *Synaxarion* of Tēr Israel;<sup>6</sup> St. Nino overthrew a huge statue which had been erected in his honour on the banks of the river Kur;<sup>7</sup> and the Greek *Passion of St. Acindynus* likewise speaks of an 'image' (ζῶαρον) or 'idol of Zeus' (εἰδωλον τοῦ ἀνδριάντος [*v.l.* Διός]) which fell broken to the ground when the saint entered the fire-temple in which it stood.<sup>8</sup> On New Year's Day the Armenians celebrated a festival in honour of the deity and his daughter Anahit.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> C. Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii (Petrograd, 1912), 7; for details see Jackson, *Mani*.

<sup>3</sup> Le Coq, *Manichaica*, i, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 102-3, 109.

<sup>5</sup> For the etymology of *di* see Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 439; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 340.

<sup>6</sup> Tēr Israel, *Synaxarion*, Navasard, p. 25; Trē, p. 639.

<sup>7</sup> *ib.* Sahmi, p. 453 (cf. also p. 459). For the cult of Aramazd in Georgia see O. von Wesendonck, in *Caucasia*, i (1924), 77-83.

<sup>8</sup> *AS I* Nov., 470.

<sup>9</sup> Tēr Israel, *Synaxarion*, Navasard, p. 356.

'Aramazd' is a frequent Armenian translation of Ζεύς.<sup>1</sup> In the Syriac *Acts of the Martyrs of Karkha* fire and water are said to be the children of Hormizd, and prayer should be made to sun, moon, fire, and water as his sons.<sup>2</sup> He appears under the name Bēl in an Aramaic inscription from Cappadocia which describes him as the husband and brother of Dēn Mazdayasniš (i.ē. Daēna Mazdayasnya);<sup>3</sup> in the Zarvanite system he was the younger son of Zrvan;<sup>4</sup> and later he gave his name to the planet Jupiter (Bd. v, 1), thus being equated with the Babylonian Marduk. He is once mentioned in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 39<sup>a</sup>) under the form *הורמזי*, and his name may survive in the modern Mazdagan Dagħ;<sup>5</sup> while in the Pāmīr dialects of Zēbak and Iškāšm *ōrmōzd* and *rēmuz* respectively mean 'sun'.<sup>6</sup> In this region he seems, under the name Almasde, to 'have degenerated into an evil spirit, who lives in the rivers, into the eddies of which he tries to draw bathing or swimming men. Sometimes he will go into the stables at night and amuse himself by disturbing the horses and donkeys or by pulling hairs out of their tail or manes'.<sup>7</sup> His name has been borrowed by the Mongols under the form Hormusda, by the Kalmuks as Hormustan, by the Mordvins as Azor(o), etc.,<sup>8</sup> and was not only borne, either alone or in compounds, by many in Iran,<sup>9</sup> but may also be implied in the *דמידת* 'Given [ or, Created ] by the Creator') of an Aramaic

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in the Armenian translation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius (ed. J. B. Aucher, Venice, 1818, i, 25: 'Bēl, who is called Zeus in Greek and Aramazd in Armenian'; ii, 54, 108, 128, 240); cf. also Agathangelos, 57, 133, 134; Moses of Khoren, iii, 15. The Armenian theologian John the Philosopher, writing in the eighth century (quoted by Aucher, i, 25, note 1), differentiates between the Armenian pronunciation Aramazd (properly a Parthian form; cf. A. Meillet, in *BSLP* xxi [1919], 25) and the Persian Ormōzd. For Aramazd in Armenia generally see Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 20-4, and cf. Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i. 24-5, 62; Sandalagian, *Histoire*, pp. 733-5.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 53; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 66, 67, 152, 167, 182; Assemani, *Acta*, i, 245; *Chronicle of Seert*, ed. A. Scher, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vii (Paris, 1909), 101.

<sup>3</sup> M. Lidzbarski, in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i (1902), 67-9.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Eznik, pp. 90 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> International Millionth Map, North I—39 (Tehran), iv, b.

<sup>6</sup> *Linguistic Survey of India*, x (Calcutta, 1921), 537.

<sup>7</sup> Olufsen, *Pamirs*, p. 199.

<sup>8</sup> U. Holmberg, in *MAR.* iv, 301; H. Jacobsohn, *Arier und Ugrofinnen* Göttingen, 1922, pp. 38, 183.

<sup>9</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 7-10, 483, to which may be added the Ahūr-mazd-Varāz ('Boar of Ahura Mazda') of the Paikuli inscription (line 7; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 97, 130); cf. Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i. 62.

papyrus from Elephantine,<sup>1</sup> which seems to find an analogue in the Hörmīzgerd ('Made by Ormazd') of a Syriac Passion.<sup>2</sup>

According to Herodotus (vii, 40; viii, 115; cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII, iii, 12; Curtius Rufus, III, iii, 11; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, xxxix, 40-1), 'Zeus' (i.e. Ahura Mazda) had a chariot which was drawn by eight white horses and which no man might ascend; he was doubtless the 'good daimon' who, 'Zathraustes' declared, gave him his laws (Diodorus Siculus, I, xciv, 2); his form could not be seen (Cyprian, *Quod idola dii non sint*, 6), though his body was like light, and his soul like truth (Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 41). Zeus and Hestia (i.e. Ahura Mazda and Ātar) were invoked 'with the other gods' (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, I, vi, 1; VII, v, 57), as were Zeus, Helios, and Ge (Ahura Mazda, Miśra, and Ārmaiti; ib. VIII, iii, 24), and Zeus and Helios (ib. VIII, vii, 3; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, xxi, 250). He has as epithets Διαβατήριος (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, lxxi, 17), Στράτιος (Appian, *Mithridates*, 66, 70), Πατρώος (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VII, i, 1), and Βασιλεύς (ib. VII, v, 57) - all being purely Greek, not Iranian,<sup>3</sup> though Βασιλεύς suggests comparison with two of his Avestan epithets, *xšāθrya-* ('royal') and *xšāyant-* ('ruling'). The inscription of Antiochus of Commagene (II a) directly equates Ζεύς with Ὀρομāσδης (cf. Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum*, I, v, 8), and he is evidently the Bel invoked together with Miśra (Claudian, *De consulatu Stilichonis*, i, 62-3; cf. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia*, IV, xvi, 5), although the Syriac *Acts of Mār Mu'ā'in* expressly differentiate between them.<sup>4</sup> He finds a Scythian counterpart in Papaïos (Herodotus, iv, 69), whose name, clearly meaning 'father', may be connected either with Greek πάππα Asianic Παπās, Παπίας, etc., or with Ural-Altaic *baba*, 'father'.<sup>5</sup>

Whether the term Ahura Mazda ('Wise Lord') was the original name of this deity is not altogether certain. In the Gāthās the combination is twice found in the plural (Ys. xxx, 9; f

<sup>1</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, pp. 16, 7, cf. the use of *dāmidāta-* as an epithet of Āsi, Gēuš Urvan, Miśra, and Haoma in the Avesta (L. H. Gray, in *JAOS* xlii [1926], 110).

<sup>2</sup> Braun, *Akten*, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1116, note 10, 1117, note 2; F. Cumont, 'Le Zeus Stratiotes de Mithridate', in *RHR* xliii (1901), 47-57.

<sup>4</sup> Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 746; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 344-6; Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6; cf. also Hirt, *Indogermanen*, p. 587; Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1548, note 6.

xxxi, 4), probably meaning 'Mazda and the other Ahuras';<sup>1</sup> and in the Younger Avesta the word *ahura* is applied not only to Mazda, but also to Miθra and Apam Napāt. Apparently, as Moulton more than hinted,<sup>2</sup> Mazdāh ('Wise') was merely a cultic epithet of that Ahura who was the chief of the pantheon and who was—at least in power—the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Varuṇa. Yet there is some reason to suspect that Varuṇa, who seems, both from his name<sup>3</sup> and from his connexion with water, to have been originally an aqueous deity,<sup>4</sup> replaced the old sky-god (the Greek Zeus, the Roman Jupiter, and the Norse Týr), just as the thunder-god Perunŭ or Perkūnas replaced him among the Balto-Slavs. We may, then, advance the hypothesis that Ormazd was not, as is so often supposed, an Iranian Varuṇa, but that he was the equivalent of the Vedic Dyaus himself<sup>5</sup>—that he was the sky-god pure and simple.<sup>6</sup> He was *the* Ahura ('Lord'), and was further honoured by the epithet Mazdāh ('Wise'), these two titles supplanting his original name and aiding his evolution, as his earlier celestial functions became forgotten, into practically a new divine being of predominantly ethical character. With the epithet Ahura we may compare such Vedic parallels as Varuṇa's *ásura prācetas* ('wise lord'; RV I. xxiv, 14) and *ásura viśvavedas* ('omniscient lord'; RV VIII, xlii, 1). The appellation Mazda is a component of the Old Persian personal names *Mazdaios*, *Mazdakis*,<sup>7</sup> and *Msdabigin* (probably for \*Mazda-bigna, 'Possessing the Glory of Mazda'),<sup>8</sup> while the appellative *Mazdaku* is found in a clay prism of Sargon (722-02 B.C.).<sup>9</sup> The term Ahura Mazda

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Richter, 'Der Plural von gAw. *mazdōh - ahura*;', in *KZ* xxxvi (1900), 584-9 (for a divergent view see Tiele, *Religion*, ii. 137-8).

<sup>2</sup> *EZ* p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> The present writer has long been skeptical of the older association of the name Varuṇa with Greek *οὐρανός*, 'sky', and prefers to connect it with Sanskrit *vār(i)*, 'water', Avestan *vār*, 'rain', Greek *οὐρον* Latin *urina*, 'urine', Old Irish *bréan* 'drop, rain', Old Icelandic *ár* 'mist', etc. (for further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 729 Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 860; Muller, *Wörterbuch* p. 311; Walde-Pokorny *Wörterbuch*, i, 268-9.)

<sup>4</sup> For a summary of the various views concerning Varuṇa see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 22-9; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 3-52; Keith, *Religion* pp. 96-8, 101-4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2; Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

<sup>6</sup> See, further, P. Bradke, *Dyaus Asura, Ahura Mazda und die Asuras*, Halle, 1885; Darmesteter, *Ormazd*.

<sup>7</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Clay, *Documents*, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> E. Meyer, in *KZ* xlii (1909), 5.

seems, then, to have supplanted the deity's true name,<sup>1</sup> which may have become so sacrosanct as to be practically tabu and which, replaced by the descriptive title Ahura Mazda ('Wise Lord') as early as the Iranian period, later was wholly forgotten, while the ancient sky-god became the ethical ruler of the universe, and finally developed into at least a quasi-monotheistic deity.

### Section C.

#### VOHU MANAH.

Vohu Manah ('Good Mind'), or Vahišta Manah ('Best Mind'), is the most important of all the Aməša Spentas excepting Ahura Mazda,<sup>2</sup> and he is, accordingly, among the foremost divine figures in the Gāthās.

(a) *Vohu Manah alone.* He is besought for discrimination, understanding, and memory (Ys. xxxi, 5), and through him Zarathuštra receives divine counsel (xlv, 6), desiring to know his ordinances (xlviii, 9). The heretical teacher prevents right estimate of his worth (xxxii, 9, 11), but the righteous have this knowledge (xlviii, 11). His house is a synonym for 'heaven' (xxxii, 15) even as the 'house of the Druj' is hell (xlix, 11; li, 14). Performance of his works brings reward (xxxiv, 14) which he will apportion (xliii, 16), bestowing pleasure and pain as he wills (xlv, 9). He is a created being (xlv, 4), the son of Ahura Mazda (xxxi, 8; xlv, 4). With his words Zarathuštra calls upon the righteous (xlvi, 14), promising them, through Vohu Manah, the best of his possessions (xlvi, 18) and desiring all to cling to him (xlix, 3). He weighs the deeds of men at the Judgement (xlviii, 8), and man should diligently strive to live his life (liii, 5). There is special mention of his paths (li, 16) which were well made by Aša (xxxiv, 13) and which Ahura Mazda is entreated to teach through Aša (xxxiv, 12). His 'band' is likewise mentioned in a way which almost suggests the Mithraic confraternities.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not wholly impossible that this name may have been \*Diyāś (accusative \*Divām) corresponding to the Vedic Dyāuṣ and to Avesta *dyāv* 'sky' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 761-2, *ZIW* pp. 172-5).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. H. Mills, 'Vohumanah in the Gāthas', in *JAOS* xxi (1900), 67-87; A. J. Carnoy, 'The Character of Vohu Manah and its Evolution in Zoroastrianism', in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Professor E. G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 94-105.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 37, 93.

(b) *Vohu Manah and Ahura Mazda.* Vohu Manah, who is consulted by Gəuš Urvan next after Ahura Mazda (xxix, 7-8), is the son of Ahura Mazda (xxxi, 8; xlv, 4; xlv, 4), who teaches him to man (xxxi, 17) and knows each man's merit through him (xxxii, 6). The 'Wise Lord' is besought to grant the final reward through Vohu Manah (xxxiii, 12), who holds colloquy with Zərəθuštra on behalf of Ahura Mazda (xliii, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15). Their joys are mentioned together (xlv, 9), and through Vohu Manah's wisdom Ahura Mazda knows secret sayings (xlviii, 3). Ahura Mazda is implored to teach his ordinances through Vohu Manah (l, 6), through whom the 'Creator of Life' will work his pleasure (l, 11). Through the 'Good Mind' Ahura Mazda will create strength and constancy at the Judgement (li, 7); and the 'Wise Lord' grants the fruit of Vohu Manah (liii, 4), the two being also associated in xxxi, 10.

(c) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, and Aša.* The possible significance of this triad has already been noted.<sup>1</sup> Ahura Mazda and Vohu Manah are implored to grant the glories of both worlds through Aša (xxviii, 2); at the Consummation Vohu Manah will create Ahura Mazda's Realm for those who deliver the Druj into Aša's hands (xxx, 8), and their fair abode is a synonym for 'heaven' (xxx, 10; xlv, 9), for, united with Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda is a friend to bright Aša (xxxii, 2). The Realm of Vohu Manah is reached by the 'straight paths of Aša beside which Ahura Mazda dwells' (xxxiii, 5); Ahura Mazda is besought to teach the paths of Vohu Manah through Aša (xxxiv, 12); he grants the blessings of Vohu Manah through Aša (xliii, 2); he will come with Vohu Manah, who furthers creatures through Aša (xliii, 6); and through Aša Ahura Mazda will aid Vohu Manah to abide with the righteous (xlv, 1). Through them Ahura Mazda promises Haurvatāt and Amərətāt in his Realm (xlv, 10); in accordance with them he recognises the wise (xxviii, 10), whereas the wicked depart from the teachings of all three (xxxii, 4); and Ahura Mazda is entreated to teach through Aša what is the possession of Vohu Manah (xlvi, 2). Zərəθuštra lauds Ahura Mazda and Aša with the works of Vohu Manah (l, 9) and declares that 'what, O Vohu Manah, is most worthwhile in the eye, the light of the sun, the shining bull of the days', is for the praise of Aša and Ahura Mazda (l, 10). In accordance with Aša Ahura Mazda has provided for the kine, who asks Vohu Manah who will care for him among mankind (xxix, 7), the answer being that Zərəθuštra will do the pleasure of Vohu

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 20.



Manah, Ahura Mazda, and Aša (xxix, 8; cf. xxix, 10). The three form a fellowship (liii, 3) and are also named together in xxviii, 1, 4, 5, 6, 9; xxx, 1; xxxi, 5; xxxiii, 6, 7; xxxiv, 2, 5, 6, 7, 13.

(d) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, and Spēta Mainyu.* Zaratuštra will ever guard Aša and Vohu Manah, and entreats Ahura Mazda to instruct him through Spēta Mainyu (xxviii, 11).

(e) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, and Ātar.* Through Vohu Manah and Ātar, and teaching through Aša, Ahura Mazda prepares the reward (xxx, 3, 9); and the power of Vohu Manah will be gained through the glow of Ahura Mazda's Fire, which is strong through Aša (xliii, 4).

(f) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, and Ārmaiti.* Aša is entreated to grant the glories of Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti for earthly boons, and Ahura Mazda for spiritual blessings (xxviii, 7); and elsewhere (xliii, 1) all four are implored for benefits.

(g) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, and Xšaθra.* Sacrifice is made to Ahura Mazda and Aša to perfect all things in the Realm through Vohu Manah (xxxiv, 3); through Vohu Manah, Xšaθra, and Aša, Ahura Mazda is implored to increase the body (xxxiii, 10); praise is rendered to Ahura Mazda with these three (1, 4); and in the Haptaŋhāiti the 'Wise Lord' is informed that praises are sung to Aša, Vohu Manah, and Xšaθra (xxxv, 10).

(h) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra, and Aši.* Through Aša the righteous will gain what Ahura Mazda has promised through Xšaθra and Vohu Manah, and Aši will give increase (1, 3).

(i) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra and Ārmaiti.* Through Vohu Manah Ahura Mazda is besought to grant his Realm, as well as that of Aša and Ārmaiti (li, 2), and the wise cling to the works of Vohu Manah and Ārmaiti, 'the companion of Aša', and to the hopes of Ahura Mazda in his Realm (xxxiv, 10). They are also named together in three other Gāthic passages (xxviii, 3; xliii, 16; xlv, 6).

(j) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra, Ārmaiti, Īzā, and Āzuiti.* Īzā and Āzuiti will be his who unites with Vohu Manah, since through Aša he knows Ārmaiti, and so will it be with all who are in Ahura Mazda's Realm (xlix, 5).

(k) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra, Ārmaiti, and Aši.* If Mazda and the other Ahuras, as well as Aši and Ārmaiti, are to be invoked, Vohu Manah is besought to grant Zaraθuštra mighty Xšaθra that the Druj may be conquered (xxxī, 4).

(l) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Ārmaiti, Aši, (Sravi) and Īš.* Aša is implored to grant Aši the boon of Vohu Manah, and Ārmaiti is entreated to confer Īš upon Vištāspa, while Ahura Mazda is besought to permit Zaraθuštra to gain Sravi, who here seems equivalent to Sraoša (xxviii, 7).

(m) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt.* Ahura Mazda will grant to the righteous communion with Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaθra, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt (xxxī, 21).

(n) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Spənta Mainyu, Aša, Xšaθra, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt.* With Xšaθra and Ārmaiti, Ahura Mazda will give Haurvatāt and Amərətāt for Spənta Mainyu, and Vahišta Manah according to Aša (xlvii, 1).

(o) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Ārmaiti, and Īz.* In Ahura Mazda's abode Zaraθuštra will store up Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti, and Īzā (xlix, 10).

(p) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, and Xšaθra.* Vohu Manah will increase Ahura Mazda's Realm (xxxī, 6); and through Vohu Manah Ahura Mazda grants the Realm to the righteous (li, 21).

(q) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, and Sraoša.* At Ahura Mazda's bidding Sraoša and Vohu Manah will come to the pious (xliv, 16).

(r) *Vohu Manah and Spənta Mainyu.* Only after consultation with Vohu Manah did Spənta Mainyu create kine (xlvii, 3.)

(s) *Vohu Manah and Aša.* Next to the dyad of Ahura Mazda and Vohu Manah, that of Vohu Manah and Aša is the most important. The righteous will dwell in the pastures of Vohu Manah and Aša (xxxiii, 3), and Zaraθuštra learns the straight paths through them (xxxiii, 6), those paths of Vohu Manah which Ahura Mazda is entreated to teach through Aša (xxxiv, 12), who made them well (xxxiv, 13). From Vohu Manah and Aša Zaraθuštra asks the words of life (xliv, 8), but the wicked desire neither fellowship with Aša nor counsel from Vohu Manah (xliv, 13). Through Aša man knows Vohu

Manah (xlv, 9), and through them Ahura Mazda promises Haurvatāt and Amərətāt in his Realm (xlv, 10). For the righteous who love Aša Vohu Manah furthers creatures (xlvi, 13). With Xšaθra and Armaiti Ahura Mazda will grant Vahišta Manah according to Aša (xlvii, 1); through Aša the reward of Vohu Manah will be attained (xlviii, 6), the eternal prize being won only through them both (li, 14); but Vohu Manah will be far from those who desire to know nothing of Aša (xxxiv, 8).

(t) *Vohu Manah, Aša, and Ātar.* Aša is made perfect through Ātar and Vohu Manah (xlvi, 7).

(u) *Vohu Manah, Aša, and Gēuš Tašan.* Through Vohu Manah Zərəuštra desires to know the revelations made by Aša, as well as those made to Aša by Gēuš Tašan (xlvi, 9).

(v) *Vohu Manah, Aša, and Xšaθra.* As a reward for man's Righteousness the Realm is granted through Vohu Manah (xlvi, 10), and they who share in Vohu Manah believe in Xšaθra through Aša (li, 18).

(w) *Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaθra, and Ārmaiti.* These four abide with man (xxx, 7); and Ārmaiti and Aša further the Realm of Vohu Manah (xxxiv, 11).

(x) *Vohu Manah, Aša, and Ārmaiti.* Vohu Manah is far from those who despise Ārmaiti, and Aša shrinks from them (xxxiv, 9); but he is blessed who unites his soul with Vohu Manah, being well acquainted with Ārmaiti through Aša (xlix, 5); and Ārmaiti will come with Vohu Manah, through whose activity creatures are furthered by Aša (xliii, 6).

(y) *Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti, and Spənta Mainyu.* Through the words of Vohu Manah and the hands of Ārmaiti man fulfils the best of Spənta Mainyu (xlvii, 2); and after consulting with Vohu Manah Spənta Mainyu created kine, together with Ārmaiti to give them pasture (xlvii, 3).

(z) *Vohu Manah and Ārmaiti.* Ārmaiti is entreated to increase the life of Vohu Manah (xliii, 1); esteemed by Vohu Manah, she gives man good dwelling, constancy, and strength (xlviii, 6; cf. xlix, 10); but the teacher of the unbelieving Bəndva desires neither her nor the counsel of Vohu Manah (xlix, 2).

(aa) *Vohu Manah and Xšaθra.* Vohu Manah is besought to increase Xšaθra that Zərəuštra may triumph over the Druj

(xxxi, 4) ; and Vohu Manah will recognise Xšaθra (xliv, 6), whom he possesses (xlvi, 16).

(bb) *Vohu Manah, Xšaθra, Ārmaiti, Daēnā, and Fšəratū.* In the Haptaŋhāiti laudation is given to this pentad (xxxvii, 5).

(cc) *Vohu Manah, Haurvatāt, and Aməratāt.* Through the works of Vohu Manah the obedient will attain Haurvatāt and Aməratāt (xlv, 5).

(dd) *Vohu Manah, Spənta Mainyu, and Gəuš Urvan.* Zərəθuštra prays for the works of Spənta Mainyu to please Vohu Manah and Gəuš Urvan (xxviii, 1).

(ee) *Vohu Manah and Tušnāmati.* Vohu Manah and Tušnāmati (who may be identical with Ārmaiti<sup>1</sup>) instruct Zərəθuštra (xliii, 15).

In the Younger Avesta the rôle of Vohu Manah is far less important than in the Gāθās. He appears in association with Aša (Ys. iv, 5), or with Aša and Xšaθra (FW i, 1). With Aša and Ātar he is a messenger of Spənta Mainyu (Yt. xix, 46), and his connexion with them reappears when he, with Ātar, protects Aša's creation against Aŋra Mainyu (Yt. xiii, 77-78), although his special foe, whom he conquers, is Aka Manah (Yt. xix, 46). The Aməša Spəntas hold to him and proceed from him (Ys. iv, 4 ; Vsp. xi, 12), and he greets the righteous when they arrive in heaven (Vd. xix, 31). Through him as a mediator Ahura Mazda has created beings, and will increase them through Aša (Vsp. xii, 4). In view of the close association of Haoma and Miθra it is perhaps significant that the joys of Vohu Manah are connected with the medicines of Haoma (Ys. x, 12) ; and he seems to be synonymous with 'victorious Axšti' (Yt. ii, 1, 6 ; Sīr. i, 2 ; ii, 2). It would appear that he was represented by images (Vd. xix, 23-25), though the Pahlavi glossator here renders *vohu manah* by *vastarg* ('clothing'). According to a Pahlavi gloss on Ny. iii, 1, he has the seed of cattle, and the moon is formed from him ; but though in the Pahlavi texts he is the patron of cattle (e.g. SīS xiii, 14 ; xv, 5, 9-11 ; ZS xxii, 6 ; cf. also Neryosang on Ys. i, 2 ; xlv, 10), he does not appear in this capacity in the Avesta. Ahura Mazda and Miθra are combined in a *dvandva* compound (Ys. i, 11 ; ii, 11 ; iii, 13 ; iv, 16 ; vi, 10 ; vii, 13 ; xvii, 10 ; xxii, 13 ; Ny. i, 7 ; ii, 12 ; Yt. x, 113, 145 ; cf. also Yt. viii, 7, 38) ; they alone share with the Aməša Spəntas

<sup>1</sup> So Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 658.

the epithet *aiθyažah* ('unimperilled'); and they are probably the 'Protector and Creator' named in a *dvandva* compound in Ys. xlii, 2; lvii, 2<sup>1</sup> as united in creating all beings. The parallel with the Vedic Mitra-Varuṇa is too obvious to require comment.<sup>2</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Vohūman is the first creation of Aūharmazd (Dk. III, xl, 3; IV, i, xii; IX, xxxviii, 6; cf. IX, liii, 24; lxix, 47; Gd. Bd. xxvi, 7), although another version (Dk. III, cxiii, 2-3) states that he was born of Spənta Mainyu. He is associated with Maθra Spənta (Dk. III, cxcii, 3); Aūharmazd consults with him and Artavahišt (ib. VII, ii, 17); and he is mentioned together with Artavahišt (ib. VII, ii, 25), the pair being invoked for aid in peril from the wicked (ib. IX, xlv, 12). Knowledge of the religion of Aūharmazd is disclosed to his own by him who loves Vohūman (Dk. IX, l, 14); and Ātar's good protection is taught by him whose words are through Vohūman (ib. IX, lxi, 5). He is associated with Mitrō and Srōš (Dk. IX, xxviii, 3); with Artavahišt and Ātar he is Aūharmazd's messenger to Vištāsp (ib. VII, iv, 74-5); and with Srōš he aids the infant Zaratūšt (ZS xvi, 9), to whom Aūharmazd sent him at the prophet's birth to offset the attacks of Akōman (ib. xiv, 8-10). Together with Hōm, Būrj, and others he co-operates, at the command of Aūharmazd, with Tištār for rain (Bd. vii, 3; ZS vi, 3; Dk. III, cxii, 5); he advances the progress of the creatures of Aūharmazd and produces the light of the world (Bd. i, 23, 25); and his auxiliaries are Māh, Gōšūrūn, and Rām (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 9). He deals especially with the thoughts of men, and he keeps a daily record of their thoughts, words, and deeds so far as each individual himself is concerned (DD iii, 13-14; xiv, 2). He protects the good creation (Dk. IX, xlii, 10) and brings the righteous to paradise (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 6); but he destroys the demons Aēsm and Az (Dk. IX, xli, 18), though his chief foe is Akōman, whom he will vanquish at the end of the world (Bd. xxx, 29). His bird is the owl (SD xiv, 8-9) or the cock (SIS x, 9); he created sheep (Dk. III, cccxxxxv, 2); and in this world animals and white garments are under his especial care (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 8; ZS xxii, 3). He appeared visibly to Zaratūšt (Dk. VII, iii, 52; ZS xxi, 8, 12); he grants wisdom and is distinguished for beauty (SIS xxii, 2; xxiii, 1). He presides over the ninth

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *AltWb.* col. 889 (Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 206, note 2, however, regards them as Ahura Mazda and Aθra Mainyu).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 36.

month, later called Ušman in Khorasan, and over the second day of each month (Bd. xxv, 20; Sir. i, 2; ii, 2; SIS xxii, 2; xxiii, 1; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

In Manichaean fragments from Turfān Vohūman, called *rōšān* ('light') or *bām yazdā* ('bright god'), is mentioned together with the Second Person of the Trinity—probably as being a mediator—and guides the souls of the pure to the abodes of immortality.<sup>1</sup>

Vohu Manah, unlike *Miθra* (Art. Pers. a, 25; b, 33; Susa a, 5; Ham. 5, 6), is not mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions; but his name, in the form *Uhumana'*, occurs in a Babylonian commercial document of the reign of Darius II,<sup>2</sup> and may be the original reading of the name *מְהוּמָן*, one of the seven chamberlains of Ahasuerus (Esther i, 10).<sup>3</sup> An inscription from Assur has the words *צלמאי וְהוּמָן (?) מְלִיכָא* ('image of Vohūman'; the statue has, unfortunately, been destroyed);<sup>4</sup> and Vohu Manah was probably the *Ῥμανός* who, with 'Anahita',<sup>5</sup> had sacred enclosures in Cappadocia—where the eleventh month was named *Ῥσμονία*, *Ῥσμανα*, etc., in his honour—and whose images Strabo saw carried in procession (p. 733). His appellation may possibly appear in translation as the *επιτυχὲς νόημα*, the 'good daimon' from whom Zoroaster received all his knowledge (*Scholia in Platonis Alcibiadem Primum*, 122A).

In India, Vasumanas, the etymological equivalent of the Iranian Vohu Manah, does not occur as the appellative of a deity, though it is the name of the traditional author of RV X, clxxix, 3, and of a legendary epic King (MBh. X, cxvi, 17).

It may be suggested that, as was perhaps the case with Ahura Mazda,<sup>6</sup> and was almost certainly true of 'Arədvī',<sup>7</sup> an originally cultic epithet became the only name of the deity generally

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 60, 75, 79; Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii (Petrograd, 1912), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Clay, *Darius*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Benfey-Stern, *Monatsnamen*, p. 200; Scheftelowitz, *Arisches*, i, 47-8; ii, 32.

<sup>4</sup> P. Jensen, in *SBAW* 1919, p. 1018.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the collocation of (Auramazdā,) Anāhita, and *Miθra* in Art. Susa a, 4-5 (Babylonian and Elamitic); Ham. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> See above, I p. 25-7.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 60.

known. If this be so, Vohu Manah was probably an analysis of the possessive adjectival compound *\*vohumanah-*, 'good-minded', analogous to the Vedic *sumānas-*, used of Indra (RV I, liii, 4; III, xxxv, 8; IV, xx, 4; X, c, 4) and especially of Agni (I, xxxvi, 2, 6; III, iv, 1; ix, 3; xviii, 1; liv, 22; IV, iii, 15; x, 3; xiii, 1; V, i, 2; VII, i, 9; viii, 5; X, cxli, 1), though it is evident that all idea of the connotation of the term as 'good-minded' had been forgotten throughout Iran long before the reign of Darius II, its first datable occurrence, so that Vohu Manah was felt to mean simply 'Good Mind,' thus enabling Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46) to translate it by *εὐνοία*.

The relation of Vohu Manah to Ahura Mazda in the Gāthās is so similar to that of Miθra to Ahura Mazda in the Younger Avesta<sup>1</sup> that 'Good-Mind(ed)' would seem to have been originally Miθra's chief cultic epithet in Iran; and it would appear to have been deliberately substituted for his real name in the Gāthās, which very significantly ignore any direct mention of Miθra.<sup>2</sup> Yet it is difficult to believe that so mighty a god was not felt—at least dimly—to lurk under the disguise of an epithet; and it may well be that the Younger Avestan epithet *aoxto-nāman-* ('whose name is spoken'), applied fourteen times to Miθra (also thrice to Atar, twice to Sraoša, and once to Vanant), in reality stressed the fact that, unlike conditions in the Gāthic period, the deity's name might again be uttered openly.

Moulton has already noted<sup>3</sup> that 'Vohumanah significantly replaces Mithra as lord of cattle' in the Gāthās; but it seems possible to go much further and to advance the hypothesis that Miθra *\*Vohumanah* ('Miθra the Good-Minded') was the source of the Vohu Manah of the Gāthās as a whole. If the house of Vohu Manah is a synonym for 'heaven' (Ys. xxxii, 15), and if in later Zoroastrianism the 'sun-station' is next to the highest of the four heavens (e.g., AVN vii-x), in the Rig Veda the righteous go to the third heaven, where is eternal light, the highest point of the sun.<sup>4</sup> Vohu Manah seems also to be associated with the sun in Ys. I, 10, where Zaratuštra speaks of 'what, O Vohu Manah, is most worthful in the eye, the light of the sun, the shining bull of the days', the mention of the bull, in view of its importance in the Miθra-legend, being perhaps significant. The 'paths of Vohu Manah' (li, 16) find a Vedic

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Moulton, *EZ* pp. 139-41.

<sup>3</sup> *EZ* p. 72, note 2; cf. Christensen, in *Acta Orientalia*, iv (1926), 162-4.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 167.

parallel in the 'path of Mitra' of RV V, lxiv, 3 (cf. the path of Aryaman and Mitra, RV II, xxvii, 6; and of Savitar, I, xxxv, 11; as well as the path made by Varuṇa for the sun, VII, lxxxvii, 1; see also I, clxiii, 6; clxiv, 31). The association of Ahura Mazda and Vohu Manah (*b*) suggests the collocation of Varuṇa and Mitra in the Rig Veda;<sup>1</sup> and the union of Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, and Aša (*c*) recalls the Vedic connexion of Varuṇa, Mitra, and Agni (RV I, cxv, 1; III, iv, 2; V, iii, 1; VI, xlix, 1; li, 10; VII, xxxix, 7; lxii, 3) or that of Varuṇa and Mitra with *ṛtá* (I, ii, 8; xxv, 5; V, lxiii, 1, 7; lxxviii, 1, 4; VII, lxxv, 3; VIII, xxv, 1, 4), the Avestan 'paths of Aša' (Ys. xxxiii, 5) seeming almost to echo the Vedic *ṛtásya pathi*.<sup>2</sup> Further, with the association of Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, and Xšaθra (*p*) we may compare that of Varuṇa, Mitra, and Indra in the Rig Veda (I, clxiv, 46; III, iv, 6; IX, c, 5); with that of Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, Aša, and Xšaθra (*g*) the collocation of Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, and Agni (RV IV, xxxix, 4); and with that of Vohu Manah and Aša (*s*) the connexion of Mitra and Agni (RV III, v, 4; X, viii, 4).

The statement of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46) that Mišra was called the 'Mediator' (Μεσίτης) as being between Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu<sup>3</sup> seems both to explain and to be explained by some Gāthic passages concerning Vohu Manah. This Amēša Spenta is usually the second member of the triad of Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, and Aša; and through him as mediator Ahura Mazda knows each man's merit (Ys. xxxii, 6). Through him Ahura Mazda is entreated to grant the final reward (xxxiii, 12), and on Ahura Mazda's behalf he holds colloquy with Zaratuštra (xliii, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15). Ahura Mazda is implored to teach his ordinances through Vohu Manah (1, 6); through him the 'Wise Lord' will create strength and constancy at the Judgement (li, 7); through him the 'Creator of Life' will work his pleasure (1, 11). Through him Ahura Mazda is besought to grant his Realm, as well as that of Aša and Ārmaiti (li, 2); and through him the 'Wise Lord' will bestow the Realm upon the righteous (xlvi, 10; li, 21). Through

<sup>1</sup> Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, coll. 1040-1; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 23-30, 127; Bergaigne, *Religion*, iii, 110-39; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 53-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 96-8, 103-4.

<sup>2</sup> Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, coll. 284, 767-8. Agni's paths are also mentioned in the Rig Veda (I, lviii, 1; II, iv, 6-7; V, i, 11; VI, vi, 1; VIII, xxiii, 19).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 303; Pettazzoni, *Misteri*, pp. 230, 259-60; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 157-8.



him Zaratustra desires to hear the revelations made by Aša and those made to Aša by Gəuš Urvan (xlvi, 9); and through his works the obedient will attain Haurvatāt and Amərətāt (xlv, 5).

Like Mišra Vohu Manah is pre-eminently a divine being of wisdom and of friendship for man. He is entreated to give discrimination, understanding, and memory (Ys. xxxi, 5); and Zaratustra, desiring to know his ordinances (xlviii, 9), receives celestial counsel through him (xlv, 6). He will apportion rewards (xliii, 16), bestowing pleasure and pain as he wills (xlv, 9) and weighing the deeds of man at the Judgement (xlviii, 8); but the wicked desire not his counsel (xliv, 13; xlix, 2).

Even in the Gāṇās Vohu Manah is associated with kine and pasturage. The Ox asks: 'Whom, O Vohu Manah, hast thou who may care for us among mankind?' (Ys. xxix, 7-8); Vohu Manah is aided by him who raises cattle (xxxi, 10); the righteous will dwell in the pastures of Aša and Vohu Manah (xxxiii, 3); creatures are furthered by Aša through the activity of Vohu Manah (xliii, 6); and 'Good Mind' fosters them for the righteous friend of Aša (xlvi, 13). Only after consultation with Vohu Manah did Spənta Mainyu create kine (xlvii, 3); and the sun is itself 'the shining bull of the days' (I, 10). All this suggests connexion with the conventional Younger Avestan epithet of Mišra, *vouru-gaoyaoti* ('lord of wide pastures'), to say nothing of the legends clustering about the tauroctonous Mišra.

In view of the confraternities of historic Mithraism,<sup>1</sup> it is possibly significant that a 'band of Mišra' is mentioned in the Gāṇās (li, 11), while at least the germs of esoteric Mithraic teaching may perhaps be implied in the statement (xlviii, 3) that through the wisdom of Vohu Manah Ahura Mazda knows hidden sayings.

If this hypothesis of a Gāṇic replacement of the ancient Indo-Iranian solar deity Mitra-Mišra by an ethicisation of an early Iranian cultic epithet meaning 'Good-Mind(ed)' be correct, additional light would seem to be thrown upon the origin of that cult of Mišra which was destined to play so important a rôle in the religious history of the Near East and of the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 326-9.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 92-6, 99-100.

*Section D.*

## AŠA VAHIŠTA.

Aša Vahišta ('Best Righteousness') ranks third among the Aməša Spəntas<sup>1</sup> and with Ahura Mazda and Vohu Manah constitutes the great Iranian triad. The Gāthic material concerning him may first be presented.

(a) *Aša alone.* Aša is twice mentioned (Ys. xxx, 9; xxxi, 4) as distinct from the other Ahura Mazdas,<sup>2</sup> though this would seem to emphasise him rather than to imply that he is not of their number. At the command of the Druj the wicked destroy what belongs to Aša (xxx, 1), yet it is he who gives knowledge of the better portion (xxx, 3). The soul of the righteous is one with him (xxxiv, 2), and those who know nothing of him forfeit heaven (xxxiv, 8), souls departing from his act and word being in mortal peril (li, 13), whereas the faithful desire his manifestations (xlviii, 8). Together with him Zaratuštra, in whose faith Aša is embedded (xlix, 3), seeks to further religion (xlv, 10) and asks when 'Righteousness' will be won by man (xlv, 3). Those allied with him receive the best reward (xlix, 9); he keeps final rewards and punishments (li, 4); counsel is received through him (li, 11); and Zaratuštra invites him to come with blessing (li, 10). Hence the Prophet prays to see him (xliii, 10) and to attain him (li, 17) through whom prayer is granted (li, 22) and whom the righteous further (li, 22), while through him each man must strive to do better than his fellow (liii, 5).

Aša is begotten (xlv, 3), created by Ahura Mazda through his wisdom (xxx, 7-8), and the son of the 'Wise Lord' (xlvii, 2). He is closely associated with agricultural life, and hence is a patron of settled pastoral life. Thus he furthers property in general (xxx, 16; xxxiii, 11); the righteous will dwell in the pastures that belong to him and Vohu Manah (xxxiii, 3); he promotes agriculture (xlv, 20) even as agriculturists promote him (xlv, 4); he furthers creatures through the activity of Vohu Manah (xliii, 6); and through him Ahura Mazda caused vegetation to grow for cattle 'at the birth of the first life' (xlviii, 6). Through him the righteous gain kine (li, 5); with him Gōuš Tāšan holds colloquy (xxix, 1-5); and he speaks of Haurvatāt and Amərətāt (xxx, 6), whom he confers on the righteous

<sup>1</sup> See L. H. Mills, 'Asha as the Law in the Gāthas', in *JAOS* xx (1899), 31-53; 'The personified Asha', *ib.*, pp. 277-302.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. Richter, 'Der Plural von *gAw. mazdāh- ahura-*', in *KZ* xxxvi (1900), 584-9.

(xliv, 18). According to the Haptaϑhāiti, Aša, who grants all good things, is bright, and the most beautiful of the Aməša Spəntas (Ys. xxxvii, 4); and mention is made of his fellowship and community (xxxv, 8).

(b) *Aša and Ahura Mazda*. Prayer is made to Ahura Mazda through Aša (xxviii, 1), through whom the 'Wise Lord's' gifts are granted (xxviii, 6, 7), and through whom he learns all (xxxi, 13). Though the two are of like will (xxviii, 8; xxix, 7), Ahura Mazda is the superior (xxix, 4-5), creating Aša by his wisdom (xxxi, 7, 8) and being his father (xlvi, 2). 'Bright Aša' has Ahura Mazda as his good friend (xxxii, 2; 1, 6); through him the 'Wise Lord' is besought to give mighty power (xxxiii, 12); and to them both Zaratuštra makes lament (xxxii, 9). Through Aša Ahura Mazda's wisdom furthers communities (xxxiv, 14), and Ahura Mazda bids Zaratuštra go to Aša for instruction (xliii, 12), so that through him the Prophet learns to know the 'Wise Lord', the creator of life (xlv, 4, 8). Through Aša, Ahura Mazda can keep evil from the righteous (xliv, 15), and he is to be won according to the primal laws of Ahura Mazda (xlvi, 15). Aša is the wise counsellor of Ahura Mazda (xlvi, 17); for Frašaoštra close association with Aša is implored from Ahura Mazda (xliv, 8); and the pair are mentioned together (xlvi, 18; xviii, 9; xlix, 1, 6; 1, 5, 10; cf. also xxxv, 1, 3, 9). Through Aša Ahura Mazda not only teaches the best of doctrines (xlviii, 3), which they devise together (li, 16), but also causes vegetation to grow for cattle 'at the birth of the first life' (xlviii, 6); and through him Ahura Mazda grants eternal life (liii, 1).

In the Haptaϑhāiti Ahura Mazda's wives are 'desirable according to Aša' (xxviii, 1). Communion with Ahura Mazda and Aša is besought (xl, 2; xli, 6); hymns are composed in their honour (xli, 1); and the 'Wise Lord' is implored to make heroes believe in Aša (xl, 3). Aša attends upon Ahura Mazda (xli, 3), who created him as well as kine, waters, vegetation, light, earth, and all things good (xxxvii, 1; a veiled reference to Vohu Manah, Haurvatāt, Aməretāt, Miθra, Ārmaiti, and Xšaθra?).

(c) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, and Xšaθra*. The words of Aša and Ahura Mazda will be confirmed in the latter's Realm (xxxii, 6), and the support of the 'Wise Lord' is secured through Xšaθra in accordance with Aša (xliii, 14).

(d) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, Xšaθra, Haurvatāt, and Aməretāt*. Ahura Mazda will grant Aməretāt and Aša, and the Realm of Haurvatāt (xxxiv, 1).

(e) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, Xšaθra, and Sraoša*. To Ahura Mazda Zaratuštra gives Realm and Obedience through Aša (xxxiii, 14).

(f) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, Spənta Mainyu, Ātar, and Ārmaiti*. Through Spənta Mainyu and Ātar, with the aid of Ārmaiti and Aša, Ahura Mazda will apportion final rewards (xlvii, 6).

(g) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, Ārmaiti, and Fšəratū*. In the Haptaŋhāiti approach is made to Ahura Mazda with submission to Aša, Ārmaiti, and Fšəratū (xxxix, 5; cf. xxxiii, 12).

(h) *Aša and Spənta Mainyu*. Aša was chosen by Spənta Mainyu (xxx, 5).

(i) *Aša and Gēus Tašan*. The "Shaper of the Ox" held colloquy with Aša (xxix, 1-5).

(j) *Aša and Xšaθra*. The Realm of the house, etc., is furthered through Aša (xxxi, 16), and the righteous give support to Aša and Xšaθra (xxxi, 22), while Aša will grant Xšaθra to those who are zealous in his works (li, 1).

(k) *Aša, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt*. Aša speaks of Haurvatāt and Amərətāt (xxxi, 6); he is augmented by their blessings (xxxiii, 9); and he confers 'Wholeness' and 'Immortality' (xliv, 18), who will unite with him who clings to Aša (xliv, 17).

(l) *Aša and Ārmaiti*. This dyad, so far as Aša is concerned, is second in importance only to that of Aša-Ahura Mazda. Ārmaiti is besought to instruct concerning Aša (xxxiii, 13); they were collaborators in creating (xxxiv, 10); and Aša shrinks from those who despise Ārmaiti (xxxiv, 9). They are united (xlvi, 16); Aša will arrive with Ārmaiti (xlviii, 11); and through Ārmaiti Aša comes to Fryāna (xlvi, 12).

(m) *Aša and Ādā*. Aša (or Ahura Mazda, or both ?) is invoked to come with Ādā (xlix, 1).

(n) *Aša and Ātar*. Ātar is mighty through Aša (xxxiv, 4), and by the glow of Ahura Mazda's Fire, which has its strength through Aša, the power of Vohu Manah will be gained (xliii, 4). At every gift offered to the 'Wise Lord's' Ātar, Zaratuštra thinks of Aša (xliii, 9); Aša is made perfect through Ātar and Vohu Manah (xlvi, 7); and through Spənta Mainyu and Ātar, with the aid of Ārmaiti and Aša, Ahura Mazda will apportion final rewards (xlvii, 6), preparing the recompense through Vohu Manah and Ātar, and teaching through Aša (xxxi, 3).

(o) *Aša and Daēnā*. *Aša* and *Daēnā* are mentioned together in the *Haptaṛhāiti* (xxxv, 1)<sup>1</sup>.

Like *Vohu Manah*,<sup>2</sup> *Aša* is a mediator in the *Gāthās*, recalling the similar rôle of the Vedic *Agni*.<sup>3</sup> Prayer is made to *Ahura Mazda* through him (xxviii, 1), and the 'Wise Lord' grants boons through him (xxviii, 6, 7), preparing recompense through *Vohu Manah* and *Atar*, and teaching through *Aša* (xxxi, 3). Through *Aša* *Ahura Mazda* learns all things (xxxi, 13), and is implored to give mighty power through him (xxxii, 12). *Ahura Mazda* and *Vohu Manah* are besought to grant the glories of both worlds through *Aša* (xxviii, 2); through *Aša* and *Vohu Manah* *Zarathuštra* learns the straight paths (xxxiii, 6), while *Ahura Mazda* is entreated to teach the paths of *Vohu Manah* through *Aša* (xxxiv, 12), and through him the 'Wise Lord's' wisdom furthers communities (xxxiv, 14). Through *Aša* *Ahura Mazda* bestows the blessings of *Vohu Manah*, and through him the 'Wise Lord' will give support that *Vohu Manah* may dwell with the righteous (xliv, 1). Through *Aša* *Ahura Mazda* can keep evil from the pious (xliv, 15), and through *Aša* *Zarathuštra* learns to know *Ahura Mazda*, the creator of life (xlv, 4, 8), even as through *Aša* man knows *Vohu Manah* (xlv, 9). *Ahura Mazda* is entreated to teach through *Aša* what is the possession of *Vohu Manah* (xlvi, 2), while through them both the 'Wise Lord' promises *Haurvatāt* and *Aməratāt* in his Realm (xlv, 10). *Ahura Mazda* teaches the best of doctrines through *Aša* (xlviii, 3), and through him *Ahura Mazda* caused vegetation to grow for cattle 'at the birth of the first life' (xlviii, 6). The reward of *Vohu Manah* is attained through *Aša* (xlviii, 7), and through him the righteous will win what *Ahura Mazda* has promised through *Xšaθra* and *Vohu Manah* (1, 3). The righteous gain kine through *Aša* (1i, 5); through him and *Vohu Manah* the eternal reward is won (1i, 15); through him they who share in *Vohu Manah* believe in the Realm (1i, 18); prayer is granted through him (1i, 22); and through him *Ahura Mazda* gives eternal life (1iii, 1).

In the Younger Avesta *Aša* is termed the most beautiful of the *Aməša Spəntas* (Ys. xiii, 8; lix, 33; lx, 13; Yt. i, 22; ii, 7;

<sup>1</sup> For further association of *Aša* with *Ahura Mazda* and other *Aməša Spəntas* in the *Gāthās* see Section on *Vohu Manah*, c—n, s—x.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 36-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 96; for the Vedic *Agni* see ib. pp. 88-100; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 157-300; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 154-62; and for his epithet *dūtā* ('messenger'), see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 624.

xviii. 5; Sir. i, 3; ii, 3). He is named together with Ahura Mazda (Āfr. iii, 6), with Vohu Manah (Ys. lv, 5), with Vohu Manah and Xšaθra (FW i, 1), with Ārmaiti (Ys. lxxi, 11), and with Ārmaiti and Fšəratū (Ys. xiii, 6); but by far his most frequent association is with Ātar (Ys. i, 4; ii, 4; iii, 6; iv, 9; vi, 3; vii, 6; xvii, 3; xxii, 6; lix, 3; G. ii, 9, 12; Yt. ii, 4, 9; Sir. i, 7; ii, 7; Āfr. iv, 2). He accompanies draughts of Haoma (Ys. x, 8; Yt. xvii, 5), and is furthered by Haoma (Ys. viii, 9; x, 1, 14; Sir. i, 30; Yt. xx, 3). Through him as a mediator Ahura Mazda will increase the beings which he has created through Vohu Manah (Vsp. xii, 4); but the wicked destroy his world (Ys. viii, 3). Nevertheless, his creation is protected against Aθra Mainyu by Vohu Manah and Ātar (Yt. xiii, 77-8), with whom he is a messenger of Spənta Mainyu, especially opposing Aēšma (Yt. xix, 46) and Āzi (Vd. xviii, 19-21), and conquering the Druj (Yt. xix, 95), besides heating Aθra Mainyu as with molten iron (Yt. xvii, 20). He smites disease, death, fiends, sorcerers, and noxious creatures (Yt. iii, 14-17); and physicians heal not only with the law, knife, herbs, and spells, but also with Aša (doubtless here meaning cautery; Yt. iii, 6; Vd. vii, 44). The righteous desire to behold him and to come to him (Ys. lx, 12), praying to discover the straight paths to him and to his bright, joyous paradise (Ys. lxviii, 13); and his sunny abode is the home of the blessed dead (Ys. xvi, 7). Aša and Aša Vahišta are appellations of Ahura Mazda in the latter's name-list (Yt. i, 7, 15).

In the Pahlavi texts Artāvahišt is the third of the Amšaspands (Dk. IV, x), and Šatvāirō arises from him (ib. xii). Aūharmazd consults with him and Vohūman (Dk. VII, ii, 17); the pair are invoked for aid in danger from the wicked (ib. IX, xlv, 12) and are the messengers of Aūharmazd to Vištāsp (ib. VII, iv, 74-5), while Artāvahišt is associated with Vohūman (ib. VII, ii, 25) or with Ātar (ib. IX, ix, 8). He is concerned with the deeds of men rather than with their thoughts or words (DD iii, 13-14), and he guards the righteous (Dk. VII, i, 34), receiving sovereignty in heaven from Aūharmazd (SD xi, 5) and having a spiritual debt from healing the sick (Dk. VIII, xxxvii, 14). He is especially opposed to the demon Andar (Bd. xxx, 29), and he keeps the fiends from punishing the damned beyond their deserts (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 14). He watches over fire (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 15; ZS xxii, 7), and has as his particular auxiliaries Ātar, Srōš, and Vahrām (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 15), himself collaborating with Airyaman (Dk. III, clvii, 20). His gift is understanding and intellect, and he is distinguished by brilliancy (SIS xxii, 3; xxiii, 1). The neck of a sacrificial sheep is his portion (SIS

xi, 4). He presides over the second month (Bd. xxv, 20), whence the Cappadocian names *Αρτζεστιν*, *Αραιστα*, *Αρταστης*, etc. (cf. also the Chorasmian month-name *Ardavast*); and also over the third day of each month (Sir. i, 3; ii, 3; SIS xxii, 3; xxiii, 1; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

On Indo-Scythian coins *Aša*, under the name *ΑΦΑΙΧΡΟ*, is represented as a beardless figure with a diadem and nimbus, his left hand on his hip, and his right hand extended with two up-lifted fingers.<sup>1</sup> In Mithraism he was identified with *Virtus-Arete*,<sup>2</sup> and he is the *Ἀλήθεια* of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46).

The name of the deity is not found in the Old Persian inscriptions, but his existence is clearly shown by the proper names *Ἀρταπάτης*, or *Ἀρδαβάτης* (Xenophon and Herodotus) for *\*Artapāta-* ('Protected by Arta'), *𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴* (*CIS* II, i, 100: 4) for *\*Arta-dāta-* ('Given by Arta') and *Ἀρταφέρνης* (Herodotus) for *\*Arta-farnah-* ('Possessing the Glory of Arta');<sup>3</sup> and his name may likewise be a component of the Parthian city-name *Ἀρτάκαρα* ('House of Arta'; Ptolemy, VI, v, 4; VIII, xxi, 18), the modern *Ardakān*.<sup>4</sup> His only significant epithets, *raoahvant-* ('shining') and *raoñvant-* ('sunny'), are found in the *Gāthās* alone (Ys. xxxvii, 4; xxxii, 2).

The close association of *Aša* and *Ātar* both in the *Gāthās* and in the Younger Avesta, *Aša*'s rank as third in the great triad of *Ahura Mazda*, *Vohu Manah*, and *Aša*, and his function as a mediator suggest that he may represent the fire-god, and may thus be the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic *Agni*. In the *Gāthās* *Ahura Mazda*'s Fire has strength through *Aša* (Ys. xliii, 4), and *Ātar* and *Vohu Manah* make *Aša* perfect (xlvi, 7); while in the *Haptaṅhāiti* *Aša* is 'bright' (Ys. xxxvii, 4). In the Younger Avesta he is expressly said (Yt. xvii, 20) to heat *Aṇra Mainyu* as with molten iron, and his name seems to be a synonym for cautery in Yt. iii, 6, and Vd. vii, 44. In Neryosang's Sanskrit version of the *Yasna* (i, 2; xxxi, 3; xlv, 10) his name is glossed by 'lord of fires' and the like; and his *Gāthic* association with *Xšaθra* suggests the Vedic relation of *Agni* and *Indra*, which is so close as to give rise to the *dvandva* compound *Indrāgni*.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 11-12 and fig. xvii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Camont, *TM* i, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 32, 33, 37 (cf. also E. Meyer, in *KZ* xlii [1909], 13, 18, 19, 20, and W. E. Clark, in *AJSL* xxxiii [1917], 265-6).

<sup>4</sup> W. Tomaschek, in *PW* ii, 1303.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 216; Hillebrandt *Mythologie*, iii-294-390.

original distinction between Aša and Ātar would seem to be that the former was the divinity of sacrificial, the latter of ordinary (especially household) fire, corresponding to the Pāzand distinction between Ādar and Ātaš,<sup>1</sup> somewhat as the Greeks distinguished between Hephaistos and Hestia, the Romans between Vulcanus and Vesta,<sup>2</sup> and the pagan Lithuanians between Ugnis Šventà ('Holy Fire') and Polengabia.<sup>3</sup>

The term Aša, it may be suggested, was originally the first member of a compound adjective used as a distinctive cultic epithet of Ātar.<sup>4</sup> In the Rig Veda Agni has the epithets *ṛtacit-* ('knowing holy order'; I, cxlv, 5; IV, iii, 4; V, iii, 9), *ṛtājāta-* ('born of holy order'; I, xxxvi, 19; cxliv, 7; clxxxix, 6; III, vi, 10; VI, xiii, 3), and especially *ṛtāvan-* ('holy'; I, lxxvii, 1, 2; III, ii, 13; xiii, 2; xiv, 2; xx, 4; IV, ii, 1; vi, 5; vii, 3, 7; x, 7; V, i, 6; xxv, 1; VI, xii, 1; xv, 13; VII, i, 19; iii, 1; vii, 4; VIII, xxiii, 9; xcii, 8; X, ii, 2; vi, 2; vii, 4; cxl, 6), almost the phonological equivalent of the Avestan *ašavan-*. Or we may have in Aša an instance of the adjectivation of a substantive,<sup>5</sup> so that the development may have been \*Ašō Ātar, 'Fire (which is) Holiness' > Ašō (Ātar), 'Holy (Fire)' > Ašō, 'Holy One', the concrete masculine gender later being changed intentionally to an abstract neuter (Ašəm).

It is possible, furthermore, that *ašavan-* ('adherent of Aša, righteous, holy'),<sup>6</sup> especially as the antithesis of *drəgvant-*, *drvant-* ('adherent of the Druj, wicked, fiendish'), meant at an earlier period the votaries of the bright fire-cult as opposed to the nocturnal worshippers of the dark underworld-deities.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See K. M. Kateli, 'Ādar and Ātaš in the Pāzand Writings', in *K.R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 239-40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1304-18, 1401-7; Farnell, *CGS* v, 345-95; A. Rapp, in Roscher, i, 2036-74; A. Preuner, *ib.* i, 2605-53; Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 229-32, 156-61.

<sup>3</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 98, 103.

<sup>4</sup> For the shortening of Iranian compound proper names consisting of an adjective and a noun cf. Artaces for \*Arta-xšaθra-ka-, Afrina for \*Ātar-dāt-ina-, Bazyrios for \*Baga-pat-ia-, Δάρτις for \*X-dāta-, Μαζαῖος for \*Mazda-dāta-, Μίθραπος for \*Miθra-dāta-, Σπιτάκης for \*Spita-manah-ka-, Vasaces for \*Vasō-xšaθra-ka (Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 33, 50, 57, 81-2, 201, 207, 309, 357-8; for similar names in Sanskrit see Hilka, *Personennamen*, pp. 59-60).

<sup>5</sup> For this process see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, ii, 653-7.

<sup>6</sup> For passages see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 246-53.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. below, p. 195.



## Section E.

## XŠAΘRA VAIRYA.

Xšaθra Vairya ('Desirable Kingdom') ranks fourth among the Amēša Spēntas;<sup>1</sup> and the Gāētic data concerning him are as follows.

(a) *Xšaθra alone.* Zaraθuštra longs to gain the future boons of the 'boundless Realm' (Ys. xliii, 8).

(b) *Xšaθra and Ahura Mazda.* Through Xšaθra Ahura Mazda gives divine answer to man (xxxii, 2), and the 'Wise Lord' will come with him and other holy beings (xliii, 6). Through him Ahura Mazda will grant the final rewards and punishments (xlv, 7), to which reference is doubtless made in the 'glowing metal' or 'molten metal' of the Judgement (xxxii, 7; li, 9). In Ahura Mazda's Realm is precious existence (xliii, 13), and Zaraθuštra eagerly awaits this Realm (xlviii, 8), imploring the 'Wise Lord' for a portion in it (xlix, 8), even as, according to the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xli, 2), the righteous hope to attain it.

(c) *Xšaθra and Ārmaiti.* Xšaθra was created together with Ārmaiti (xliv, 7); she increases him (xxviii, 3), and dwells in the sunlike Realm (xliii, 16).

(d) *Xšaθra and Hušiti.* Xšaθra will come with Hušiti, who is rich in pastures (xlviii, 11).<sup>2</sup>

Xšaθra appears as a mediator in Ys. xxxii, 2, when through him Ahura Mazda gives divine answer to man, and also in xlv, 7, where the 'Wise Lord' allots final rewards and punishments through him.

In the Younger Avesta Xšaθra is once (FW i, 1) associated with Vohu Manah and Aša, and from him boons and healing agencies are obtained (Vd. xx, 3). His name is mentioned side by side with 'molten metal' (Vsp. xx, 1; Yt. ii, 2, 7; Sir. i, 4;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. V. W. Jackson, 'Khshathra Vairya, One of the Zoroastrian Archangels', in *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of . . . Sanjana*, Strasbourg, 1904, pp. 159-66.; A. J. Carnoy, 'L'Idée du "Royaume de Dieu" dans l'Iran', in *Le Muséon*, xxxiv (1921), 81-106.

<sup>2</sup> For further association of Xšaθra with Ahura Mazda and other Amēša Spēntas see Section on Vohu Manah, *g-k, m, n, p, v, w, aa, bb; Aša, c-e, j*.

ii, 4) and is even synonymous with 'metal' (Yt. x, 125; Vd. ix, 10; xvi, 6; xvii, 6, 8), while Neryosang, in his Sanskrit version of the Yasna, calls him '(over-) lord of the (seven) metals' (Ys. i, 2; xxxiii, 11; xxxiv, 1). His only distinctive epithet is *xvəng-darəsa-* ('possessing the appearance of the sun'; Ys. xliii, 16).

In the Pahlavi texts Šatvāirō arises from Artavahišt (Dk. IV, xii), and through him the creatures of Aūharmazd have their creator as ruler (ib. IX, xliii, 2). He intercedes with Aūharmazd for the poor (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 19); and as presiding over metals he is concerned with the flood of molten metal which will cover the earth at the Last Day (ib.; Bd. xxx, 19; Dk. IV, x; IX, lxix, 17-18). His auxiliaries are the Sun, Mihr, Āsmān, and Anīrān (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 19); his gift is wealth, and he is distinguished by his exaltation (Sls xxii, 4; xxiii, 1). He presides over the sixth month (Bd. xxv, 20), whence the Cappadocian forms *Ξαρθριονη*, *Ξαρθρι*, *Ξαθρι*, etc. (cf. also the Chorasmian *Axšarivarī*), and likewise over the fourth day of each month (Sir. i, 4; ii, 4; Sls xxii, 4; xxiii, 1; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

On Indo-Scythian coins this deity is represented as a beardless figure facing right, wearing Greek armour and helmet, and holding a lance in his right hand, while the shield in his left rests on the ground.<sup>1</sup> He is the *εὐροπία* of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46), and his name may be preserved in that of King Šahrimān in the *Arabian Nights*.<sup>2</sup>

Moulton has suggested<sup>3</sup> that Xšaθra may have replaced an earlier 'special god'; and the hypothesis may also be advanced that, as has already been conjectured in studying Vohu Manah,<sup>4</sup> a cultic epithet has replaced the real name of the divinity. One may surmise that *xšaθra-* was originally the second member of an adjectival possessive compound,<sup>5</sup> possibly, from the collocation *vohū xšaθrā* in the Gāthās (Ys. xxxi, 22; li, 1) and *Hapta-mnāhiti* (Ys. xxxv, 10; xxxvii, 5; cf. also the laudations of the

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 7-8 and figs. xi, xii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 205; Cumont, *TM* i, 144.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. Payne, iii, 100, 103, etc. (another of the same name, ib. vii, 1, 3, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> EZ p. 74, cf. p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 34-5.

<sup>5</sup> For similar Iranian instances cf. *Βαζάνης* for \*Arta(?)bazanes and *Βύζος* for \*Baga-buxša- (Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 66, 72; cf. Hilka, *Personennamen*, p. 61).

Vohu-Xšaθra Gāθā —the name of Ys. li— in Vsp. i, 7; ii, 9; xx, 0, 2, 3; Āfr. ii, 1; Vd. xix, 38), \**vohuxšaθra*- ('possessing a good realm').

In the Rig Veda the term *ksatrá*- is used more frequently of Indra than of any other deities except Varuṇa and Mitra (I, liv, 8; IV, xvii, 1; xxi, 1; VI, xxv, 8; VII, xxi, 7; xxviii, 3; X, clxxx, 3); and it would seem, on the whole, that (Vohu [?]) Xšaθra was primarily an epithet of the god commonly called Verəθrayna in the Younger Avesta.<sup>1</sup> He would thus be practically an Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Indra, and there may be a further hint of this in the statement of Bd. xxx, 29, that he will conquer the demon Sōvar (the Saurva of Vd. x, 9; xix, 43).<sup>2</sup> This fiend, the Śarva of the Atharva Veda (see especially IV, xxviii; VI, xciii, 1, 2; VIII, viii, 17, 18; X, i, 23; XII, iv, 17; XV, iv, 1), closely resembles Rudra, if he is not actually one with him;<sup>3</sup> and Rudra seems to represent 'not the storm pure and simple, but rather its baleful side in the destructive agency of lightning',<sup>4</sup> whereas Indra was a beneficent deity of the monsoon and of the fertility which it brings.<sup>5</sup> This theory would further explain the boons associated with Xšaθra, for a most distinctive epithet of Indra, and one almost wholly monopolised by him, is *maghāvan*- ('bountiful').<sup>6</sup>

### Section F,

#### ĀRMAITI.

Ārmaiti ('Thought, Devotion') ranks fifth among the Aməša Spəntas;<sup>7</sup> and the Gāθic material concerning her is as follows.

(a) *Ārmaiti alone.* Ārmaiti is once mentioned (Ys. xxxi, 4)<sup>8</sup> as though apart from the other Aməša Spəntas; she furthers

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 117-9.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 75; cf. Keith, *Religion*, pp. 144, 150.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 77; cf. further Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 301-26; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 142-50.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-66; Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, iii, 157-300; E. W. Hopkins, 'Indra as the God of Fertility', in *JAOS* xxxvi (1917), 242-68; Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-33.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonnell, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also A. J. Carnoy, 'Aramati-Ārmatay', in *Le Muséon*, II, xiii (1912), 127-46. For the further association of Ārmaiti with Ahura Mazd and other Aməša Spəntas see Sections on Vohu Manah, f, i-l, n, c, w-z bb; Āša, f, g, l; Xšaθra, c.

<sup>8</sup> See, however, above, p. 38.

creatures (xlvi, 12); man becomes holy through her (li, 21); and she counsels the doubter (xxxi, 12). She is entreated to perfect the future birth for man, as well as agriculture for kine (xlviii, 5); she will give an enduring body that man may safely pass the Ordeal (xxx, 7); and she is besought to grant Vištāspa his wish (xxviii, 7).

(b) *Ārmaiti and Ahura Mazda.* Ārmaiti is the daughter of Ahura Mazda (xlv, 4), to whom she belongs (xxxi, 9), and with whom she comes to Zaraθuštra (xliii, 10). She will make known the judgements of the 'Wise Lord' and other divine beings (xliii, 6); Ahura Mazda is celebrated with her prayers (xlv, 10); and through her he is implored to bestow every energy (xxxiii, 12).

(c) *Ārmaiti and Daēnā.* Ārmaiti will come to those to whom Daēnā is proclaimed (xlv, 11).

Ārmaiti clearly appears as an earth-goddess in Ys. xlvii, 3, where Spenta Mainyu creates her to give pasture to kine; she is a birth-deity in xlviii, 5, where she is entreated to perfect both the future birth for man and agriculture for cattle; in xxxiv, 10, she is directly termed 'creating', and in xlv, 12, she furthers creatures. In xxxiii, 12, she is a mediating divinity, since through her Ahura Mazda is besought to give every energy.

In the Younger Avesta Ārmaiti is mentioned together with Aša (Ys. lxxi, 11), with Aša and Fšəratū (Ys. xiii, 6), with Ahura Mazda (Vd. viii, 21), with Ahura Mazda, Miēra, and Rašnu (Yt. xiii, 3), and with Rātā (Sīr. i, 5; ii, 5). She is the daughter of Ahura Mazda (Vd. xix, 13, 16), by whom she is the mother of Aši (Yt. xvii, 16). She possesses one thousand, ten thousand healing remedies (Yt. i, 27), and her eyes bring the wicked low (Yt. i, 29), though she is robbed of a third of her colour by the harlot (Vd. xviii, 64). She is honoured as the dwelling-place of the righteous (Ys. xvi, 10), and she receives, to restore it at the renewal of the world, semen involuntarily emitted (Vd. xviii, 51). Her name is occasionally used as a synonym for 'earth' (Vd. ii, 10, 18; iii, 35), the term by which Neryosang glosses her appellation in his Sanskrit version of the Yasna (i, 2; xxviii, 3, 7; xxxi, 4; xxxiv, 10; xliii, 1; xlv, 2; li, 2, 4).

In the Pahlavi texts Spendarmat is the daughter of Aūhar-mazd (Dk. IX, liii, 27; liv, 2; lx, 4; lxix, 47), who sends her, together with Arēdvīvsūr and Aršai-Pravart, to the infant

Zaratūšt (ZS xvi, 3). Through her Aūharmazd's creatures have complete mindfulness of him (Dk. IX, xliii, 2); she protects the souls of the righteous (ib. xlii, 10), and is the mother of the pious (PVM 122). She maintains creatures (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 25) and appeared physically to Zaratūšt (Dk. VII, iv, 58; cf. ZS xii, 4). She presides over the earth (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 25; Dk. III, xc, 3-4; SIS xiii, 14; BYt ii, 8, 16, 31, 48, 53; Phl. Jām. i, 16), which is represented by the chessboard (ČN9), and over 'the spirits of the regions, frontiers, stations, settlements, and districts' (ZS xxii, 9), while a Manichaean fragment<sup>1</sup> states that she comes from the earth from the east. She shudders when a corpse is buried (SD xxxiii, 2; cf. lxv, 12), is distressed when robbers, evil men, and disrespectful wives walk abroad (ib. xv, 22-3), and is injured by the step of a naked foot (ib. xliv, 1) or of a menstruous woman (AVN lxxii, 5; lxxvi, 9). On the other hand, she rejoices when the righteous cultivate waste land or rear cattle, and when a virtuous son is born (SIS xv, 24). He who desires to please her must propitiate both earth and virtuous women (SIS xv, 20). To the unmarried she gives a spouse (*The Day Xordāš of the Month Fravardīn*, tr. Jamasp Asa, in *The K. R. Camā Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, p. 129); she grants maternity (ZS xii, 6); and receives one-third of the seed of the dying Gayōmarš (Bd. xv, 1; cf. ZS x, 3). Her auxiliaries are Āpān, Dīn, Art, and Maraspand (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 26); and her special opponent is Tarōmaš (Nāūnyas) (Bd. xxx, 29; DD xciv, 2; Dk. VI, i, 6; IX, xxxiv, p) or Varen (Dk. VIII, ix, 3). The belly of the sacrificial sheep is her portion (SIS xi, 4). Her gift is a high-born wife and goodly offspring, and she is distinguished for fruitfulness (SIS xxii, 5; xxiii, 1). She presides over the twelfth month (Bd. xxv, 20), whence the Cappadocian month-name Σοῦδαπα and the Chorasmian Isbandārmāji, as well as over the fifth day of each month (Sir. i, 5; ii, 5; SIS xxii, 5; xxiii, 1; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). Under the form Isbandarmēd her name is found in Aramaic incantations.<sup>2</sup>

In Mithraism Ārmaiti was identified with Terra Mater and with Hera-Juno;<sup>3</sup> and she seems to have corresponded to the Manichaean 'Mother of Life'.<sup>4</sup> She was probably the Hera of Plutarch (*Vita Artaxerxis*, 23), though elsewhere (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46) he renders her name by σοφία, and the Ge

<sup>1</sup> Summarised by F. C. Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, xxvi, 4; xxx, 2; xxxii, 2; xxxv, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 107, 138.

<sup>4</sup> Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 301.

of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (III, iii, 22; VIII, iii, 24).<sup>1</sup> She is the only Aməša Spanta mentioned in Armenian, where, as a masculine deity, her name, in the Parthian form Spandaramet, translates Διόνυσος in 2 Macc. vi, 7; while the Persian form Sandaramet renders ἄδης in Ezek. xxxi, 16, etc.<sup>2</sup> According to

Thomas Artsruni (i, '3), 'the earth is the asylum of the god Spandaramet-Bacchus; she has not been created by any one, but she has existed as she exists; she continues to be, and man is born from her'. Ārmaiti corresponds to the Scythian goddess Apia (Herodotus iv, 59), the spouse of Papaïos (Zeus), whose name, apparently a *mot enfantin* like 'mamma', may be connected either with Macedonian ἄππα 'father' ('daddy'), Greek ἄππας ὁ τροφεύς (Hesychius), and Anatolian names like Ἀπ(π)ία, or else with Mongolian *abiya*, 'fruitful'.<sup>3</sup>

Ārmaiti, whose name, as the metre shows,<sup>4</sup> is to be read Aramaiti, is obviously cognate with the Vedic Arámati, which Sāyana once (on RV VII, xlii, 2) glosses by *bhūmī* ('earth').<sup>5</sup> Moulton very probably connected the word<sup>6</sup> with Greek ἔρα-ζε, 'earthwards', and interpreted it as for \*arā mātā, 'earth-mother'.

Practically a doublet of the Zam of the Younger Avesta, Ārmaiti seems to have been in origin the earth-mother and the wife (not the daughter) of the sky-deity, so that the pair Ahura Mazda-Ārmaiti would correspond to the Vedic Dyāvāpṛthivī.<sup>7</sup> With the rise of Ahura Mazda to the rank of supreme deity, Ārmaiti necessarily became his daughter, but traces of the older

<sup>1</sup> Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 73-4; Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 103-4; Ananikian, *Mythology*, p. 25; Meillet, in *REA* i (1921), 234-5. The reason for the equation with Dionysos is his association with the death and birth of vegetation (Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 117).

<sup>3</sup> Hoffmann, *Makedonen*, p. 62; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 346-7; Hirt, *Indogermanen*, p. 587; Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6.

<sup>4</sup> Geldner, *Metrik*, pp. 31-2.

<sup>5</sup> For his other renderings see Muir, *OST* iv, 317, note 30, and cf. Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 200-3; Pischel-Geldner, *Studien*, ii, 255-7. He glosses *māhim arāmatim* (RV VII, xxxvi, 8) by *uparāivrahitām bhūmim* ('restless earth'; similarly X, xcii, 4-5). For Aramati see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 119-20; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 405; Keith, *Religion*, p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> *EZ* p. 112, note 3; *Treasure*, p. 91; for cognates of ἔρα see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 270.

<sup>7</sup> For the list of passages see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 640, and cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 126. For Ārmaiti as an earth-goddess see also Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 147-50; Keith, *Religion*, p. 220.

belief lingered on so that she sustained the twofold relation of daughter and wife, thus doubtless aiding in the development of the later system of next-of-kin marriage.<sup>1</sup>

### Section G.

#### HAURVATĀT AND AMĒRĒTĀT.

In only one Gāthic passage (Ys. xxxii, 5) is Amēretāt ('Immortality') mentioned without Haurvatāt ('Wholeness'), but here she appears in company with Hujyāti, who seems to be practically identical with Haurvatāt.<sup>2</sup>

(a) *Haurvatāt and Amēretāt alone.* The pair are besought to grant their blessings (xxxiii, 8) and they will serve as food (xxxiv, 11).

(b) *Haurvatāt, Amēretāt, Ahura Mazda, and Spēnta Mainyu.* Through Spēnta Mainyu Ahura Mazda created kine, water, and plants, Amēretāt and Haurvatāt (ii, 7).

In the Younger Avesta their names are synonymous with water and vegetation respectively (Ys. iii, 1, 20; iv, 1, 3; vi, 17; vii, 1, 20, 26; viii, 1), as Neryosang glosses them in his Sanskrit version of the Yasna (i, 2; xxxi, 21; xxxiv, 1, 11; xlv, 10; xlvii, 1; li, 7). They accordingly conquer hunger and thirst (Yt. xix, 96), and they are once mentioned together with Ātar (Ys. lviii, 7).

In the Pahlavi texts Horvadaṭ and Amerōdaṭ produce the developed world for those who will benefit therefrom (Dk. IX, lxi, 10), so that their power acts forcibly for giving value and preparing the creatures (ib. xxxiv, 9). They bring water on plants (Dk. VII, ii, 38) and rule respectively over water and vegetation (ZS xxii, 11-12; xxviii, 1; Bd. ix, 1; Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32, 36; SsS ix, 8). They also have cattle (Dk. IX, xli, 17) and Aūharmazd's creatures live through Horvadat and are immortal through Amerōdaṭ (ib. xliii, 2). The former presides over time, and the latter makes cattle grow (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32, 36); eating and drinking are their gifts (Dk. III, cccxvi, 3); and they are injured by talking while eating and by unseascnoble chatter (ib. IX, xix,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gray, in *ERE* viii, 456-9.

<sup>2</sup> See especially J. Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt*. For further association of Haurvatāt and Amēretāt with Ahura Mazda and other Amēša Spēntas see Sections on Vohu Manah, *m, n, cc*; Aša, *d, k*.

1; MX. ii, 33), as well as by the menstuous woman (AVN lxxii, 5). Horvadaṭ makes intercession when the *dron* is consecrated on the day in which man's lot is determined for the ensuing year (SD lii, 2-3). Their respective auxiliaries are Tīr, Vāt, and Farvartīn, and Rašn, Aštāt, and Zamyāt (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32, 36), while their demon opponents are Tāirēw and Zāirīk (Bd. xxx, 29). Their gifts are abundant prosperity and herds of cattle respectively, and the one is distinguished for moisture as the other is for fatness (SIS xxii, 6-7; xxiii, 1). They preside respectively over the third and fifth months (Bd. xxv, 20), whence the Cappadocian month-names Αμαροτ, Αρμοτατ, Αμαρπατα etc., and Αρτατος, Αραιοτατα, Αδραυστατα, Αρτανα, etc., as well as over the sixth and seventh days of each month (Sīr. i, 6, 7; ii, 6, 7; SIS xxii, 6, 7; xxiii, 1; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). The pair are the *πλοῦτος* and the *τῶν ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἡδέων δημιουργός* of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46); they are mentioned in the Qur'ān (ii, 96) under the names Hārūt and Mārūt,<sup>1</sup> and are the sources of the Armenian plant-names *hārūt* and *mārūt* (both meaning 'tuberoses').<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested, furthermore,<sup>3</sup> that they correspond to the Xrostag (Appellant) and Padvaxtag (Respondent) of Manichaeism. No Avestan epithets are recorded of either of them, and their Sanskrit equivalents, *sarvatātī-* and *amṛtatva-*, mean only 'totality' and 'deathlessness'.

Amərətāt has been identified<sup>4</sup> with the 'Ανάδατος (or 'Αναδάτης?) who, Strabo says (p. 512), was worshipped in Cappadocia<sup>5</sup> as a *περσικὸς δαίμων* who shared his altar (*σύμβωμος*) with Anaitis and Omanos (Vohu Manah).<sup>6</sup> This, however, seems open to some objection. In the first place, 'Αναδατ- would be a rather violent corruption of Amərətāt, whose name, as has just been noted, is actually found in Cappadocia as the appellation

<sup>1</sup> See E. Littmann, 'Hārūt und Mārūt', in *Festschrift... Andreas...* dargebracht, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 70-87.

<sup>2</sup> Abeghian, *Volksglaube*, p. 62; Ananikian, in *ERE* i, 796; and especially G. Dumézil, 'Les Fleurs Haurot-Maurot et les anges Haurvatāt-Amərətāt', in *REA* vi (1926), 43-69.

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, p. 522, note; regarding these two beings see Jackson, *Mani*.

<sup>4</sup> Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 145-6; cf. Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 154; Moulton, *EZ* p. 101; Cumont, *TM* i, 130; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 44, 52.

<sup>5</sup> For the ethnological and linguistic affinities of the Cappadocians see Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 398-9, and especially E. Chantre, *Recherches archéologiques dans l'Asie occidentale : Mission en Cappadoce, 1893-1894*, Paris, 1898.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 34.



of a month ; and, in the second place, this Aməša Spəntā never enjoyed, so far as we know, a rank permitting collocation with 'Arədvī' and Vohu Manah (Miθra). What one would expect would be the Achaemenian triad of Auramazda, Anāhita, and Miθra (Art. Susa, a, 4-5 [Babylonian and Elamitic]; Ham. 5-6). It may be suggested that 'Avəδəzr- represents an Old Persian \*anādāta-, 'not created', a vanished cultic epithet of the 'Wise Lord', the antithesis of such epithets as *ahuraδāta-* ('created by Ahura', applied to Vərəθraγna), *dāmiδāta-* ('created by the Creator', given to Aši, Gəuš Urvan, Miθra, and Haoma), and *mazdaδāta-* ('created by Mazda', used of Ātar, Cistā, Drvāspā, Rātā, Vanant, Vāta, Saokā, Savah, X'arənah, etc.), and comparable in its negative form with such epithets of Ahura Mazda as *adaoya-* ('undeceivable') or *arəfna-* ('sleepless').

The problem of the origin and development of these two Aməša Spəntas is far from easy. Moulton suggested<sup>1</sup> that, in view of Anāhita's care for waters and the Fravašis' guardianship of vegetation, Haurvatāt and Amərətāt were intended to supersede them, or that they may have been the Iranian representatives of the Indo-European 'celestial twins' (the Indian Āsvins, the Greek Castor and Polydeuces, etc.). It would appear more probable, however, that they replaced the cults of water and of Haoma (if not of the moon).

The waters, for whom Haurvatāt was substituted in the reform associated with Zoroaster's name, were recognised as healing (Yt. viii, 47) and were worshipped (see, in addition to Ys; lxxv, Ys. i, 12; ii, 12; iii, 14; iv, 17; vi, 11; vii, 14; xvii, 12; xxii, 14; xxxviii, 3-5; lxxviii, 6-7, 10-13; G. ii, 6; Ny. iii, 11; iv, 1-10; Vd. xviii, 9; VYt 8; HN ii, 13; Nir. 48; cf. also Herodotus, i, 138; Strabo, p. 732; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, XXX, ii [vi], 17; Agathias, ii, 24). Āvān ('Waters') is, furthermore, the name of the eighth month (Bd. xxv, 20) and of the tenth day of each month (Sir. i, 10; ii, 10; SIS xxii, 10; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24); and the proper name מַתְּנִיךְ ('Daughter of the Waters') is found in an Aramaic incantation.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Amərətāt the development seems to have been more complex. The divinity appears, on the whole, to have been evolved from *aməša-* ('immortal one'), whose Vedic equivalent, *amīta-*, is frequently used as a synonym for the soma-draught (RV I, xxiii, 19; lxxi, 9; lxxii, 6; clxiv, 21; III,

<sup>1</sup> EZ pp. 114-5; cf. pp. 271, 275. On the other hand the Fravašis are also concerned with waters (Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 146).

<sup>2</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, v, 1.

i, 14; xxvi, 7; V, ii, 3; xxviii, 2; VI, xxxvii, 3; xlv, 16, 23; VII, iv, 6; IX, lxx, 2, 4; lxxiv, 4; cviii, 4; X, xi, 9; xii, 3; cxxii, 5; cf. especially VI, lxxv, 18: 'may King Soma clothe thee with immortality'. Soma is himself immortal (*amša-*; I, xliii, 9; VIII, lxxiii, 12; IX, iii, 1; cx, 4); the gods drank him for immortality (IX, cvi, 8); he confers immortality on gods (I, xci, 6; IX, cviii, 3) and men (I, xci, 1; VIII, xlviii, 3); and he makes his worshippers immortal in the blessed world beyond IX, cxiii, 7-8).<sup>1</sup>

Although in the Avesta *aməša-* is the special epithet—apart from the Aməša Spəntas as a class—only of Hvarə, Haoma has the practically equivalent term *dūraoša-* ('holding death afar') as his exclusive possession, and it was he who, in Yima's realm, made beasts and men undying, and plants and waters perennial (Ys. ix, 4-5). The absence of any mention of him in the Gāthās, except in the hostile veiled allusions of Ys. xxxii, 14; xlviii, 10, has been noted by Moulton;<sup>2</sup> but his cult was known to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46),<sup>3</sup> and the proper name חומת ('Given by Hauma') occurs in an Aramaic document dating from the reign of Artaxerxes I.<sup>4</sup>

It would seem, then, that Haoma was replaced in the Gāthās by Amərətāt, just as Miēra was supplanted by Vohu Manah;<sup>5</sup> and that from association with Haoma, the plant which gave the draught of immortality (cf. ἀμβροσία), the functions of the Aməša Spənta were extended to preside over the entire vegetable world. Worship of the plant-world is recorded in Ys. i, 12; ii, 12; iii, 14; iv, 17; vi, 11; vii, 14; xvii, 12; xxii, 14; G. ii, 6, together with that of waters.<sup>6</sup> In the Veda, in like manner, waters and plants are objects of adoration.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Regarding Soma see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 104-15 (especially, in the present connexion, pp. 105, 108-9, 112-3); Keith, *Religion*, pp. 166-72; and cf. in general G. Dumézil, *Le Festin d'immortalité, esquisse d'une étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne*, Paris, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> EZ pp. 71-2, 358, 379. For the Younger Avestan Haoma see below, pp. 83-4.

<sup>3</sup> Moulton, EZ p. 399, note 9; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>4</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, C (=9), 2; D (=8), 2 (pp. 22, 23, 26, 27).

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 35-7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the veneration shown by Xerxes for a plane-tree (Herodotus, vii, 31; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii, 14; ix, 29, and see Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 83, as well as Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt*, p. 52, note 1, where it is suggested that the Persian corps of 10,000 *ādvzroi* [Herodotus, vii, 183] was enrolled in honour of Amərətāt). For a similar cult in Armenia see Ananikian, *Mythology*, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 85-6, 154; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 141-2, 184.

Whether one may go still further and identify Aməretāt-Haoma with Māh seems very doubtful. There appears to be no cogent evidence to connect Haoma with the moon in Iranian, and the passages cited by Hillebrandt<sup>1</sup> (Ys. ix, 26 ; x, 10 ; lvii, 19 ; Yt. viii, 23) in support of such a theory are quite uncertain. Even in the Rig Veda, though Soma subsequently becomes a synonym for 'moon', the identification can be verified only in late hymns (especially in X, lxxxv, 2, 5, 9), and Macdonell declares with good reason that 'while the identification of Soma and the moon is perfectly clear in the later literature, there is in the whole of the RV. no single distinct and explicit instance either of the identification or of the conception that the moon is the food of the gods'.<sup>2</sup> A similar statement would appear to hold true of the Avesta.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MAJOR DEITIES.

#### Section A.

#### 'ARƏDVĪ'.

IN Vsp. i, 5 (cf. Yt. i, 21) 'the lofty waters, undefiled, holy' (*arəduyā āpō anāhitayā ašaonyā*) are parallel with 'the lofty, mighty, undefiled, holy (lady)' (*arədvīm sūram anāhitamašaonīm*) of Vsp. ii, 7 ; in other words, 'Arədvī' ('Lofty [Lady]') is equivalent to the Waters, who, as we have already seen,<sup>3</sup> were worshipped. She is also closely associated with water elsewhere (Ny. iv, 0, 10) and appears together with Vegetation and the Sun (Ny. i, 19) ; Ys. lxxv is composed in honour of her and of the Waters, and she is a deity of human generation and birth (lxv, 2 ; cf. Vd. vii, 16). The chief text concerning her, however, is the fifth Yašt. She presides over generation and birth (§§ 2, 87) ; sacrifices are offered to her by Ahura Mazda, Haošyaŋha Paraŋdāta, Yima, Azi Dahāka, Əraētaona, Kərəsāspa, Fraŋrasyan, Kavi Usan, Haosravah, Tusa, the sons of Vaēsaka, Paurva,

<sup>1</sup> *Mythologie*, i, 450-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Mythology*, p. 113 ; cf. Oldenberg, *Religion*, pp. 183-5 ; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 170-1 ; against this view see especially Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, i, 267 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 53. For 'Arədvī' in general see F. Windischmann, *Die persische Anāhita oder Anaitis*, Munich, 1856. For the association of 'Arədvī' with water see also Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 249-56, especially p. 251, where she is explained as the personification of the beneficence of the waters and as the goddess of a mythic stream.

Jāmāspa, Ašavazdah, Vistauru, Yōišta, Zaratuštra, Vištāspa, Zairivairi, and Vandarəmainiš (§§ 17-83, 104-8); but the sterile and the deformed may not bring oblations to her (§§ 92-3), and only the wicked do so after sunset (§ 95; cf. Nīr. 48). Once (§ 72) she is associated with a place sacred to Apām Napāt. She is described with much detail as white and mighty of arm; as a fair maiden, strong, beautiful, high-girt, and straight, shod with gleaming golden shoes with golden bands; as wearing a golden mantle and kerchief, holding the *barsom* in her hand, with a necklace and quadrangular golden earrings, adorned with a ribboned diadem of gold set with a hundred jewels and divided into eight parts, and clad in beaver garments (§§ 7, 64, 78, 123, 126-9). She dwells among the stars (§§ 85, 88, 132); Ahura Mazda makes a path for her above the orb of the sun (§ 90); and she rides in a chariot drawn by four steeds (§§ 11, 13) which are rain, wind, cloud, and hail (§ 120). The 'Wise Lord' produced her to further, protect, and supervise the world (§ 6), which she guards (§ 89). She is besought for victory over devilish as well as over human foes (§§ 23, 26, 46, 50), and is entreated to give strength to horses and health to men (§ 53).

'Arədvī's' most distinctive Avestan epithets are *gaēθō-frādana-* ('furthering creatures'), *daiuṇhu-frādana-* ('furthering the land'), *vaθuo-frādana-* ('furthering the herd'), and *šaēto-frādana-* ('furthering wealth'). She shares her conventional epithet *anāhita-* ('undefiled') with Miθra and Haoma (the latter pair only in Yt. x, 88); *aurvant-* ('swift') with Haoma; *xšōiθna-* ('shining') with Aši and Ušah; *parəθu-frāka-* ('broadly proceeding') with Daēnā; and *vidaēva-* ('anti-demonic') with Ahura Mazda.

In the Pahlavi texts Arədvīsūr, together with Tištar, Satvās, Vohūman, Vāt, Hōm, Dīn, Būrj, and the Fravašis, executes the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain, she, with Ātar, Vāt, and Dīn, routing the demons who seek to delay the down-pour (Dk. III, cxii, 5). With Spendarmat and Artāi-Fravart she is sent by Aūharmazd to the infant Zaratūšt (ZS xvi, 3); and she mediates between Māh and the sky (*spīhr*) when Mihr and Sōk transmit weal to earth from the world on high (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13). She receives the seed of Zaratūšt from Neryōsang (Bd. xxxii, 8); the right shoulder of the sacrificial sheep is her portion (SIS xi, 4); and Zaratūšt's head is like her shoulder (Dk. xxiv, 3). In later times Anahīt became the name of the planet Venus, corresponding to the Babylonian appellation Ištar (Bd. v, 1.).

In view of the wealth of description concerning 'Arədvī', it has been suggested that statues of her were made.<sup>1</sup> Berossus (cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protreptica*, V, lxxv, 3) expressly states that Artaxerxes Ochus (an error for Mnemon) 'was the first to set up an image of Aphrodite Anaitis in Babylon and Susa and Ecbatana and (among) the Persians and Bactrians and (in) Damascus and Sardis, and to inculcate her worship'; and Artaxerxes Mnemon actually associates Auramazda Anāhita, and Miθra in his inscriptions (Art. Susa a, 4-5 [Babylonian and Elamitic], Ham. 5-6), an echo of this perhaps being found in the command of Chosroes II that the Christians should adore 'Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana'.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that 'Arədvī' is the female figure who, in Sāsānian sculptures at Tāq-i-Bustān, presents Khosru II with a garland of victory and pours a libation on the ground, though this identification is by no means certain<sup>3</sup>. She was assimilated to Artemis, Aphrodite, Athene-Minerva, Hera, Magna Mater, Ištār, and Nanaia;<sup>4</sup> and she possessed a shrine not far from the ruined site of Salabiyah on the Euphrates, said to have been founded by Darius (Isidore of Charax, I), as well as temples at Konkobar (Kangavar),<sup>5</sup> Pasargadae, Ecbatana, and Demetrias (near Arbela) (Isidore, I, 6; Strabo, p. 738, where the manuscripts read 'Ayzīz'). Lydia and Cappadocia likewise contained shrines erected to her (Pausanias III, xvi, 8; VII, vi, 6; Strabo, p. 733); while at Hierocaesarea (two hours to the right of Kapakli) and at Zela were temples said to have been founded in her honour by Cyrus (Tacitus, *Annales*, iii, 62; Strabo, p. 512; cf. p. 559). Her shrine in Acilisenē or, as the whole region was named after her, 'Avzīris, Anaitica (Dio Cassius, XXXVI, xlviii, 1; liii, 5; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, V, xxiv, 20),<sup>6</sup> possessed a golden statue of her (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII, iv [xxiv], 82-4; cf. Tēr-Israel, *Synaxarion*, Hori, pp. 311, 343); and this land was a veritable centre of her cult, hierodules of both sexes being consecrated to her, and the daughters of the noblest families being

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 364; Moulton, *EZ* p. 240; Clemens, *Nachrichten*, p. 98. A case in Salle V (Dieulafoy collection) of the Louvre contains some figurines of the conventional Ištār-type labeled 'Anāhita'.

<sup>2</sup> *AS* V Jun., 166.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, *PPP* p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 130-1, 133, 148-9, 231, 235, 333-5, and 'Un Bas-relief consacré à Anaitis', in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et des belles-lettres*, 1915, pp. 270-6; Clemens, *Nachrichten*, pp. 133-5; cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1594.

<sup>5</sup> See also Jackson, *PPP* pp. 240-2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 286.

required to practise sacred prostitution at her shrine before marriage (Strabo, p. 532). She was perhaps the Ζερῆτις "Ἀρτεμις" Περσῶν of Hesychius, deriving her name from "Ἀζρα (or Ζάρα) in Elymais. There, according to Strabo (p. 744; cf. Polybius, xxxi, 11; Appian, xi, 66), was a shrine of 'Artemis' at which, Aelian records (*De natura animalium*, xii, 23), tame lions were kept, thus pointing to an amalgamation or confusion with some non-Iranian goddess.<sup>1</sup> She was identified by the Persians with the Ἡμιθέα of Kastabos in the Chersonese who gave healing to those who consulted her by incubation in her temple, and who relieved difficult labour-pains (Diodorus Siculus, V, lxiii 1-2).<sup>2</sup> Herds of cows, marked with a torch as her symbol, were maintained for sacrifice to her (Plutarch, *Vita Luculli*, 24); she enjoyed special reverence among the Persians, and 'mysteries' were celebrated in her honour (Diodorus Siculus, V, lxxvii, 6-8). She was served by priestesses vowed to chastity (Plutarch, *Vita Artaxerxis*, 27), and a Christian maiden Mamalk'ta is named among their number (Tēr-Israel, *Synaxarion*, Hori, p. 364). In honour of her and her father Aramazd the Armenians celebrated a festival on New Year's Day (ib. Navasard, p. 356). She is clearly the 'Mitra' of Herodotus (i, 131), who says that the Persians received her from the Assyrians and Arabians, a statement repeated by St. Ambrose (*Epistolae*, I, xviii, 30). Anāhita, the most frequent epithet of 'Arēdvī', was the name of a Christian martyr in Persia in 447.<sup>3</sup>

It has been supposed that 'Arēdvī' was Semitic in origin,<sup>4</sup> and Tiele suggested<sup>5</sup> that 'Arēdvī Sūra' was an attempt to translate the Babylonian title *rubat bēlīt* ('exalted lady') often given to Ištar, while in the Paikuli inscription (l. 10) we find an oath by 'Ūḥarmizde and all the gods and Anāhēt, named "the Lady", (An(a)hēt) zī mar'atā šem).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 134; Cumont, *TM* i, 131; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 131-2; Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 157; H. Reland, *Dissertationes miscellaneae*, ii (Utrecht, 1707), 263.

<sup>2</sup> Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 138-9.

<sup>3</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 15; Cf. T. Nöldeke, in *Festschrift an Rudolph von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 37-8.

<sup>4</sup> Notably by Moulton, *EZ* pp. 114-5, 238-40, 394.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte*, ii, 255, note. The resemblance of the term Anāhita to the name of the West Semitic goddess עֵיִת (cf. L. B. Paton, in *ERE* iii, 182; W. von Baudissin, in *PRE* i, 487-8) is merely fortuitous. Huart, *Perse*, p. 98, regards the introduction of Anāhita as due to 'Chaldaean' astrology.

<sup>6</sup> *erzfeld, Paikuli*, i, 98, 99.

Pettazzoni<sup>1</sup> and Scheftelowitz,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, hold that 'Arədvī' was an essentially Iranian deity who absorbed some of the traits of Ištār; and the latter compares her with the Vedic goddess Sinivali<sup>3</sup> who, with Prajāpati and Anumati, shapes the embryo (AV VI, xi, 3), is entreated for offspring (RV II, xxxii, 5-8; X, clxxxiv, 2; AV XIV, ii, 15, 21), brings riches, milk, and grain (AV XIX, xxxi, 10), and is implored to guide the kine to the stall (AV II, xxvi, 2). On the whole, it seems most probable that 'Arədvī' was more than a borrowed divinity, and that she was Iranian in origin, though perhaps influenced by Ištār.<sup>4</sup>

In Armenia, as already noted, the cult of Anahit was extremely popular.<sup>5</sup> She formed a triad with Aramazd and Vahagn, and she had shrines at Ani, Erēz (Erzingan), Artaxat (Artaxata) near Erivan), Aštišat<sup>6</sup> in the district of Taraun, and at the 'Throne of Nahat' on a high mountain near T'il. At Aštišat she constituted a triad with Vahagn and Astlik, and there, as at Erēz, she had golden idols which were destroyed by St. Gregory. In the latter shrine, according to the Armenian version of Agathangelus (I, v, 21), the Illuminator was bidden to lay an offering of garlands and branches on her altar, for she was 'the glory and the life of Armenia, the giver of life, the mother of all wisdom, the benefactress of the entire human race, the daughter of the great and mighty Aramazd'. In the days of St. Narses she was still entreated for healing (Ariston of Pella, cited by Moses of Khoren, i, 60); and she was evidently the 'Nanea, daughter of Aramazd' ('Ἀθηνῶς... θυγατρὸς Διὸς in the Greek version), whose statue at T'il was destroyed (Agathangelus, I, cx, 133).<sup>7</sup> At Istaxr (Persepolis) was a 'fire-temple of Anāhēd' in which the heads of St. Baršabia and his companion martyrs were hung about 342.<sup>8</sup> The name

<sup>1</sup> *Religione*, pp. 131, 133.

<sup>2</sup> *ZdmG* lvii (1903), 170; *Judentum*, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Muir, *OST* v, 346; Keith, *Religion*, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning this goddess see L. B. Paton, 'Ishtar', in *ERE* vii, 428-34.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 111-7; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 24-9; Sandalgian, *Histoire*, pp. 735-41 (cf. pp. 773-7); Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 18.

<sup>6</sup> For various attempts to identify the site see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 401.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding Nanea see W. von Baudissin, in *PRE* xiii, 631-45, and for her cult in Armenia ib. pp. 637-8.

<sup>8</sup> Assemani, *Acta* i, 95; Nöldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 4, 17; Labourt, *Christianisme*, p. 72, note. The view of Spiegel (*EA* ii, 54, note) and Darmesteter (*ZA* ii, 365) that the word *anāhita* is the source of the Arabic *nāhid*, 'girl with rounded breasts', seems very dubious.

Anahit was given to the nineteenth day of each Armenian month.

The appellation *Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā*, a series of three feminine adjectives, together with the deity's aqueous character, suggests that it was originally connected with a feminine noun, probably *āp*, 'water'; and, as matter of fact, we find this very formula in Ys. lxxv, 1 (cf. *arədvī nama āpa* in Vd. vii, 16; *arədvī āp anāhita* in Vsp. i, 5; Ny. iv, 0; Yt. i, 21). As an earthly stream 'Arədvī', a mighty and perennial river, flows from Mount Hukairya, the loftiest point of the Haraiti range, on whose summit is Lake Urvis,<sup>1</sup> into Vouru-kaša (the Caspian), falling from the stars, from the height of a thousand men (Ys. lxxv, 3; Yt. v, 3, 7, 85, 88, 96, 102, 121, 132; x, 88; xii, 24; Vd. ii, 22; Bd. xii, 5; xiii, 1, 5-6; xxii, 11; xxiv, 17; DD xcii, 5). It is, in all probability, rightly identified by Geiger<sup>2</sup> with the *Āmū-Daryā* (Oxus); and subsequent studies<sup>3</sup> have shown that the Avestan account of the river's source is in remarkable agreement with geographical facts. The *Āmū-Daryā* derives its waters from the glaciers and perpetual snow of the Pāmirs, and its main source is the Panj ('Five') River, which rises in Vakhān in the Hindu-Kūš, the two principal heads being the Burgut ('Eagle') and the Ak-Su ('White River'), which have their origin respectively about fifteen and twelve kilometres north-west of Lake Čakmakinpul (37° 13' N. and about 74° 10' E.; 4023 mètres above sea-level), and fall 2276 mètres in 275 kilometres. It may even be suggested that the four steeds of the goddess (Yt. v, 11, 13), explained as rain, wind, cloud, and hail (Yt. v, 120), are in reality the four tributaries which, with the Burgut, make the Panj—the Bakjir, Bai-Kara, Ab-i-Šoršil, and Pāmīr-Daryā; that her diadem with eight parts represents the Panj, the Kizil-Su ('Red River') the Muryāb, and the Gund; that her whiteness refers to the clarity of the water (the upper course of the Muryāb, or 'Bird-Water', is actually called Ak-Su, or 'White-River') and to the foam of the numerous cataracts and rapids; that her golden garments are the sandy shores; and that her beaver robes allude to the presence of these animals along the river.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Avestan *urvaēša*- 'whirlpool, turning-point, end' ?

<sup>2</sup> OK pp. 46-52.

<sup>3</sup> Olufsen, *Pamirs*, pp. 3-14.



The deification of the Oxus, whose name may represent the Avestan *huvaxša-* ('good growth'),<sup>1</sup> as 'Arədvī', and the wide extension of the goddess's functions, so that nearly every trace of her original nature disappeared, find parallels in the development of the Indian deity Śarasvatī, who evolved from a sacred river surpassing all other waters in greatness, pure and purifying, flowing from the mountains and descending from the sky, the best of mothers, of rivers, and of goddesses, bestowing vitality, offspring, and wealth, into a deity of eloquence and wisdom.<sup>2</sup> Other analogues of divinised streams would be the various rivers Dee ('Goddess') in Cheshire, Aberdeenshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and County Louth, as well as the Deba and Deva in Spain, the Duis and several small rivers named Dive in France,<sup>3</sup> and the Lithuanian Sventoji Ūpė ('the Holy River').

The Oxus had, moreover, a special guardian divinity whom al-Bīrūnī<sup>4</sup> terms Vaxš, and who appears in the proper names 'Ožvápnys (Vaxšu-varta- 'Protected by Vaxšu')<sup>5</sup> and 'Ožodárnyš (Vaxšu-dāta- 'Given [or, Created] by Vaxšu'), as well as in Vaxš.<sup>6</sup> The deity is pictured on a seal from the Oxus Treasure as a winged bull with a human head,<sup>7</sup> and under the name OAX 𐬔𐬀 he is represented on a coin of the Kušān dynasty as 'an old man holding a long sceptre in his right hand, and carrying what looks like a dolphin or fish in his left hand,<sup>8</sup> With this river-deity one may perhaps compare the Lettish Gāujas Māte, the 'Mother' (i.e., goddess) of the Gauja (Aa).<sup>9</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts other river-spirits — of the Arag, the Marv, and the Vēh — pray to Aūharmazd (Bd. xx, 5-6; xxi,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 233. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 100, thinks that 'Arədvī' (which he regards as a name, not as a mere epithet) was the appellation 'of some large river-basin, which had become of great importance for the nomadic tribes of the Iranians'.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 86-8; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 172-4; cf. E. W. Hopkins, 'The Sacred Rivers of India', in *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, New York, 1912, pp. 213-29.

<sup>3</sup> Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 1273-4, 1289.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 225.

<sup>5</sup> J. Marquart, in *Philologus*, Supplementband x (1905), 26.

<sup>6</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 343.

<sup>7</sup> Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 168-9; O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London, 1905, pp. 103-5, Plate XV, 105.

<sup>8</sup> A. Cunningham, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, p. 121, Plate XXIII, 12, p. 156.

<sup>9</sup> K. Mühlenbach, *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. J. En'zelin, Riga 1923 sqq., ii, 587.

3); and sacrifice to rivers is also recorded by classical writers, the Magi offering white horses to the Strymon (Herodotus, vii, 113), and Tiridates giving a horse to the Euphrates (Tacitus, *Annales*, vi, 37).

### Section B.

#### Aši.

In the Gāōās Aši (‘Lot, Reward, Recompense’) is mentioned together with Aša, Ārmaiti, and the Ahura Mazdas (Ys. xxxi, 4); she will give recompense (xxxiv, 12); and with her Sraoša will come to apportion reward and punishment (xliii, 12). Zaratuštra longs for her (xlviii, 8), and through her might the righteous will increase his neighbour’s house (xlix, 3; cf. i, 3).<sup>1</sup>

The chief text concerning Aši is the seventeenth Yašt. From this we learn that she is associated with Cisti, Grēti, Rasčstāt, Xvarənah, and Savah (§§ O, 62; Ys. i, 14; Sir. i, 25); that she is the daughter of Ahura Mazda and Ārmaiti, and the sister of the Aməša Spəntas, as well as of Sraoša, Rašnu, Miθra, and Daēnā (Yt. xvii, 2, 16); that she grants both wisdom and material blessings, and that an oblation to her is as one to Miθra (§§ 2, 6-14; cf. Ys. lx, 7; Yt. xviii, 3-4); that she rides in a chariot (Yt. xvii, 1, 17, 21); that the sterile and the immature may not share in her oblations (§ 54; cf. § 57); that she guards chastity (§§ 58-9); and that sacrifice was offered to her by Haošyaŋha, Yima, Graētaona, Haoma, Haosravah, Zaratuštra, and Vištāspa (§§ 24-52). Furthermore she assumes the form of a noble maiden and is invincible in battle (Yt. xiii, 107), granting victory (Yt. xix, 54); together with Pārendi, Haṃ-varēti, Xvarənah, Əwāša, Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Fravašis she accompanies Miθra and guides his chariot (Yt. x, 66, 68). She possesses healing for waters, animals, and plants, and overcomes both demonic and human enmity (Ys. lii, 2); and the Fravašis share in these remedial agencies (Ys. lx, 4; Yt. xiii, 32; cf. Vsp. ix, 1). She is mentioned in association with Sraoša (Ys. x, 1; Vsp. xii, 1); with Sraoša and Nairyō-saŋha (Ys. lvii, 3; Yt. xi, 8); with Sraoša, Nairyō-saŋha, Āxsti, and Ātar (Vsp. xi, 16; cf. vii, 1); with Ādā (Ys. lxviii, 21); with Ādā, Cisti, and Drvatāt (Vsp. iv, 1); with Ama, Vərəraŋna, Grēti, Cisti, Paurvatāt, Uparatāt, and the Yazatas (Vsp. ix, 4); with Daēnā and Pārendi (Ys. xiii, 1); with Rātā and Pārendi (VYt. 8:9); with Sraoša, Rašnu, Miθra, Vāta, Daēnā, Arštāt, Cisti, Cistā, and other divine beings (Yt. xi,

<sup>1</sup> See further above, pp. 20, 29, 30.

16); and with X<sup>varənah</sup>, Savah, and Pārəndi (S<sup>r</sup>. ii, 25). She presides over the twenty-fifth day of the month (S<sup>r</sup>. i, 25; ii, 25; SIS xxii, 25; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

In the Pahlavi texts Aharišvang (Aši Varəuhi) is the spirit of the wisdom of sovereignty, liberality, and truth who aids the righteous on their way to the best existence (Dk. IX, xliii, 6); and as an auxiliary of Spendaramat she is the genius of the paradisaal house, increasing the glory of the home and guarding the treasure of the just (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 29). She is synonymous with wealth (Bd. xxii, 4) and is associated with Rātiḥ (Dk. IX, xxx, 14). Her demonic opponent is Anāhar (Dk. VIII, ix, 3) or Varen (DD xciv, 2). The chest and back of Zaratūštr are like hers (Dk. IX, xxiv, 3); she is 'the resplendent glory of the Kayāns' and is distinguished by beauty (SIS xxii, 25; xxiii, 4).

Aši's chief exclusive epithets in the Avesta are *āfrasāhvant-* ('possessing her wish'), *darəγō-varəθman-* ('long-protecting'), *perəθu-vīra-* ('possessing broad vision'), *bānumant-* ('shining'), *mazā-rayi-* ('possessing great riches'), and *hwō-aiwišak-* ('well-attending'). With 'Arədvī' and Ušah she shares the epithet *xšōiθna-* ('shining'); with Miθra *dāto-saoka-* ('possessing granted [or, created] advantage'); with Ahura Mazda and Rāman *pouru(š)-x<sup>ra</sup>āθra-* ('possessing much bliss [or, many blessed abodes]'); with Tištrya *vyāvant-* ('beaming'); with Drvāspā *x<sup>ra</sup>anai-čaxra-* ('possessing resounding wheels'); and with the Fravašis *x<sup>ra</sup>apāra-* ('bringing welfare').

On Indo-Scythian coins Aši, under the name (AP)ΔOXΠO, appears as a female figure with a nimbus and modius, wearing a chiton and himation, and holding a cornucopia; or as seated *en face* on a throne with a stool beneath her feet, and holding a garland and cornucopia; or as facing right, wearing Greek costume, and with a cornucopia in each hand.<sup>1</sup> In Mithraism she was identified with Tyche-Fortuna.<sup>2</sup>

Aši was a Persian as well as an Avestan deity, her name appearing in the theophorous appellations 'Αρτιβλάτης ('Protégé of Arti'), 'Αρτιβόλης, and 'Αρτίμυς, the latter designation probably recurring in the ארתומי of an Aramaic inscription and seemingly abbreviated from

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 11 and figs. xv, xvi; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 189, 200, 208, 210, 230-1; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 151-2.

\*Arti-manah- ('Possessing the Mind of Arti').<sup>1</sup> She may also have been honoured in the city-name Ἀλῖδακκ (Ptolemy, VI, ii, 12), which is variously explained as standing for \*Arti-yazdaka- ('[Place] belonging to Arti'), \*Arti-stāka- ('Place of Arti'), or as \*Arta-yazdaka, \*Arta-stāka- ('[Place] belonging to Arta').<sup>2</sup>

It is quite evident that Aši was much more important than the extant texts imply. The insistence on her giving of boons and her Indo-Scythian and Mithraic characteristics suggest that she was originally a goddess of fortune, while the 'shining' epithets applied to her hint at a celestial abode. She would seem to have been the goddess of the lucky star and so of good fortune generally<sup>3</sup>.

If this hypothesis be granted, Aši appears to have been substituted for the deity Baxta ('Fate'),<sup>4</sup> who is thrice mentioned in the Avesta (Yt. viii, 23, parallel with *sādra*-, 'woe', and *urvištra*-, 'destruction'; Vd. v, 8, as determining the death of man; and Vd. xxi, 1, as granted by divine beings; cf. also Ys. ix, 22-3; Yt. x, 108, 110; xiv, 47; VYt. 8, 34, 38, 46; and especially Ys. xxxiii, 10);<sup>5</sup> and whose name is a component of such proper names as Bxtāfrīt ('Possessing the Blessing of Bxt'), Hübaxt ('Possessing Good Fortune'), and Vad-baxt ('Possessing Evil Fortune').<sup>6</sup> The 'weal-apportioning deities' (*bakāno-i-baxtārān*) are opposed to the planets, who are 'apportioners of evil' (*anākih baxtārān*; SGV iv, 8, 29); and Destiny, which affects life, wife, and child, authority and wealth, is distinguished from action, which concerns the

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 39; CIS II, i, 109; for the abbreviation of Ἀρτάμης for \*Arta-m(enes) and Σπιταμάς, Σπιγάμης, Spitāma beside Σπιταμέγης, Justi, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 309-10.

<sup>2</sup> F. Andreas, in *PW* i, 1496.

<sup>3</sup> According to Dhalla, however (*Theology*, p. 122), 'physically she stands for plenty, morally for piety'. Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 231-4, interprets her as the 'goddess of blessing and abundance, a sort of Fors Fortuna, and then also, like that deity, a divinity of fertility'. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 225, note 1; 252, note 1, regarded her as the feminine counterpart of Aša and as an incarnation of prayer; and Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 96, 124, 126, 163, considers her to be 'the goddess who distributes the lots, especially the good ones', the protectress of matrimony, and the deity of wealth earned by piety.

<sup>4</sup> In one Avestan passage (Ys. xv, 1) we find *baγa*- ('portion') in the sense of '(good) luck'; cf. Sanskrit *bhāga*- with the same meaning. Moulton (*EZ* pp. 169, 365, note 5) translates Aši by 'Destiny'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *beγ* *baxta*- ('god-appointed'; Yt. viii, 35; Vsp. vii, 3).

<sup>6</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 61-2, 131, 337, 487-8.

righteousness and wickedness of priesthood, warfare, and husbandry (DD lxxii, 3-5). According to SîS xxii, 31, Destiny grants a helper to the pious and is the guardian of the (celestial) sphere for all the thirty angels. Good and evil happen through the constellations and the planets (MX viii, 17-21), and it is impossible to contend against Destiny (*barēh*; ib. xxiii, 3-9); but there are also 'Fortune' and 'Divine Fortune' (*Baxt* and *Bakbaxt*), the former ordained from the beginning, the latter 'that which they [the divine beings] also grant otherwise' (ib. xxiv, 5-8); and *Baxt* is 'predominant over every one and every thing' (xlvii, 7; cf. also xxvi, 10; xxvii, 10; xxxv, 8, 17; xliii, 13). This concept of the power of *Baxt* ('Fortune') is found repeatedly in the *Sāh-Nāmāh* (e.g., pp. 9.6; 15.5; 30.3; 33.16; 50.15; 54.4; 55.3; 56.7; 57.17; 61.1; 64.7; 123.17; 125.10, etc.) beside that of one's star (ib. pp. 11.11; 53.16; 60.10; 74.8; 96.12; 104.14, etc.); and it was taken over into Armenia, where Eznik polemised against it, but where it still survives under its ancient Iranian name.<sup>1</sup> Like Theodore of Mopsuestia (cited by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, lxxii, 81), who translates Ζουρονόμ (Zrvan) by Τύχη, Eznik renders Zrovan by 'Fortune' (*Baxt*) or 'Glory' (*P'ark'*).<sup>2</sup> Cambyses, as reported by Herodotus (iii, 65), declared that no man may escape 'destiny' (τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι); Darius lamented that the 'Fortune of the Persians' had turned Macedonian (Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri*, 30); and the Parthian prince Tiridates, addressing Nero, said: 'I have come to thee, my god, to worship thee even as Mithra, . . . for thou art my Destiny and Fortune' (μοῖρα εἰ καὶ τύχη; Dio Cassius, LXIII, v, 2). Syriac and Greek Acts of Persian martyrs speak of oaths sworn 'by the Fortune (*gad*) of the gods' and by the Fortune of the King, before whom the Christian is bidden to tremble.<sup>3</sup>

No parallel deity of fortune is known to have existed in Vedic India, and none has been found in Babylonia; but an analogous divinity, Gad, was worshipped by the pagan Arabs, Israelites, Aramaeans, Canaanites, Palmyrenes, and Phoenicians, figuring in Isaiah lxxv, 11, beside Mani ('Destiny'),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 115-6; Abeghian, *Volks Glaube*, pp. 51-6.

<sup>2</sup> Eznik, tr. Schmid, p. 90; cf. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 196-7.

<sup>3</sup> Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 63; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 61, 63, 124; Delehaye, *Actes*, p. 96; Assemani, *Acta*, i, 192.

who appears in the Qur'ān (liii, 20) and elsewhere as Manāt.<sup>1</sup> With these divine beings, however, Aši had no connexion<sup>2</sup>.

### Section C.

#### ĀTAR.

According to the Gāēās (Ys. xxxi, 19; li, 9), the final judgment will be prepared through Ahura Mazda's 'red Ātar' ('Fire') and in the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxvi, 2, 3) he is termed the son of the 'Wise Lord'.<sup>3</sup> The Younger Avesta renders him special homage in the fifth Nyāišn. He is the most active of the Ameša Spentas (Ys. i, 2); some of the Yazatas are sprung from him (Vsp. xvi, 1); and he bestows not only herds (Vsp. xix, 2), but also many other boons (Ys. lxii, 1, 4-7, 10; Vd. xix, 26-7). He grants the straightest path to those who do not deceive Miθra (Yt. x, 3), upon whom he attends, together with Rašnu, Čistā, and the two Upamanas (Yt. x, 126-7). With Vohu Manah he protected Aša's creation against Ažra Mainyu (Yt. xiii, 77-8); with the same Ameša Spenta he acts as a messenger of Spenta Mainyu, being especially opposed to Aži Dahāka, whom he overcomes (Yt. xix, 46-50); he is frequently named in company with Aša (Ys. i, 4; ii, 4; iii, 6; iv, 9; vi, 3; vii, 6; xvii, 3; xxii, 6; lix, 3; G. ii, 9, 12; Yt. ii, 4, 9; Sīr i, 7; ii, 7; Āfr. iv, 2); and is constantly described as the son of Ahura Mazda (Ys. 0, 2, 11; ii, 3, 12; iii, 2, 14; iv, 2, 17, 23; etc.). He is the householder of all houses (Ys. xvii, 11), and thrice each night he issues a call to replenish the sacred fire (Vd. xix, 18-22), afflicting those who bring him improper offerings (P. 22-3) and trembling only before boiling water (P. 21). In the Old Persian calendar the ninth month was named Ādriyādiya ('Fire-Honouring [Month]'), corresponding to the Eastern Iranian Ātarō (Bd. xxv, 20), whence the Cappadocian Ἀθρζ and its variants, as well as the Armenian Ahekan; and Ātar also presided over the ninth day of each Avestan month (Sīr. i, 9; ii, 9; SīS xxii, 9; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

<sup>1</sup> L. W. King, in *ERE* v, 778; T. Nöldeke, *ib.*, i, 661-2; L. B. Paton, *ib.*, iii, 128; ix, 893; J. F. McCurdy, in *JE* v, 544-5; W. von Baudissin, in *PRE* vi, 328-36; xii, 575-7.

<sup>2</sup> See further Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 205-8; Casartelli, *Philosophy*, pp. 9, 31-3, 86, 144; L. H. Gray, 'Fate (Iranian)', in *ERE* v, 792-3; 'Fortune (Iranian)', *ib.*, vi, 96.

<sup>3</sup> For further association of Ātar with Ahura Mazda and the Ameša Spentas see above, pp. 21, 22, 29, 31, 32, 33, 40, 42, 43-4.

In the Pahlavi texts Ātar, together with Artavahišt and Vohūman, acts as Aūharmazd's messenger to Vīstāsp (Dk. VII, iv, 74-5); in company with Artavahišt, Dīn, and Vāi he routs the demons who seek to delay the rains (ib. III, cxii, 5); and with Srōš he welcomes the soul of Artā-i-Virāf (AVN iv, 2); but he opposes Keresāsp and refuses to admit his soul to heaven (Dk. IX, xv, 3; SBE xviii, 379). Repentance should be made before the sun and Mitrō, the moon and the Fire of Aūharmazd (MX liii, 8). His light holds the throne of the righteous in heaven, and he is distinguished for heat (SIS xxii, 9; xxiii, 2).

Ātar enjoys exclusive use of the Avestan epithets *ašā-aojah-* ('possessing strength through Aša'), *upa-suxia-* ('enkindled'), *saočinavant-* ('flaming'), and *suxra-* ('red'). Like Miθra, Vanant, and Sraoša he is *aostō-nāman-* ('whose name is spoken'; probably implying that his worship as a deity receives full recognition instead of being veiled under the name of Aša), *pouru-baēšaza-* ('many-healing'; doubtless referring to cautery), and *raθaēštūr-* ('charioteer'). He was likewise an Old Persian deity, as is shown not only by the month-name already cited, but also by the personal appellations 'Ασιδάρης, 'Ασιδάρης (cf. אֲשִׁידָר in the Elephantine Papyri, xxiv, 14), and 'Αρπιδάρης ('given [or, Created] by Ātar'; the equivalent of the Avestan Āterədāta of Yt. xiii, 102); 'Ατροπάτης ('Protected by Ātar'; cf. the Attarapata of Clay, *Artaxerxes*, p. 51, and the Āteropāta of Yt. xiii, 102); and possibly Atrumanu ('Possessing the Mind of Ātar' [?])<sup>1</sup> beside such Avestan names as Āteraxvarenah ('Possessing the Glory of Ātar').<sup>2</sup>

On Indo-Scythian coins Ātar, under the form AθPO, appears as a bearded deity, clothed in chiton and himation, with a garland in his right hand and tongs in his left (on gold coins of Huviška the garland is replaced by a hammer), and with flames rising from his shoulders.<sup>3</sup> In Mithraism he was identified with Hephaistos; Xenophon equated him both with Hestia (*Cyropaedia*, I, vi, 1; VII, v, 57) and with Hephaistos (ib. VII, v, 22);<sup>4</sup> and in Armenia Agathangelus confused him with Miθra (I, cx, 134) in speaking of the destruction of the temple

<sup>1</sup> Clay, *Artaxerxes*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 486.

<sup>3</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 4-5 and fig. vii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 188-9, 200, 207.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 133; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 89.

of Mihr (Greek text, 'Ἡφαιστος), 'whom they called son of Aramazd', at Bagayarič.<sup>1</sup>

Fire-cults are found in modern Armenia,<sup>2</sup> in the Pāmirs,<sup>3</sup> and among the Ossetes.<sup>4</sup>

The classical writers abound with allusions to the Iranian worship of fire (Herodotus, i, 131; Ctesias, frag. 57; Strabo, p. 732; Curtius Rufus, III, iii, 9; Phoenix of Colophon, cited by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, xii, 40; Nicolaus Damascenus, *De virtute et vitio*, 29; Lucian, *Jupiter tragicus*, 42; Maximus Tyrius, *Philosophia*, ii, 14; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, 5; Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones*, i, 30; iv, 29; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII, vi, 34-5; Basil, *Epistolae*, cclviii, ad Epiphanium, 4; Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, v, 14; Priscus, *Historia Byzantina*, frag. 31; Johannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ii, p. 37), and the same statement holds true of the Acts of martyrs.<sup>5</sup> The existence of fire-temples (πυρραῖαι) is recorded for Cappadocia (Strabo, p. 733), Lydia (Pausanias, V, xxvii, 5-6), Persia (Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII, viii, 7, 11; Procopius, *De bello Persico*, II, xxiv, 1-2), and Ašarbayjān (Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita*, xi, 8). They are often mentioned in Acts of martyrs<sup>6</sup> and by mediaeval Arab geographers,<sup>7</sup> while ruined shrines of this character still exist in Persia.<sup>8</sup>

Fire was worshipped together with other elements;<sup>9</sup> it was borne on portable altars (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*,

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 104, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Abeghian, *Volks Glaube*, pp. 66-74; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 54-8; Aharonian, pp. 28-34.

<sup>3</sup> C. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au nord et au sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, Paris, 1896, pp. 95-7, 329-31; J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 108; Olufsen, *Pamirs*, pp. 205-6.

<sup>4</sup> M. S. Zaborowski, *Les Peuples ariens d'Asie et d'Europe*, Paris, 1908, pp. 265-7.

<sup>5</sup> e.g., Delehay, *Actes*, pp. 23, 24, 27, etc.; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 27, 29, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *AS* I Nov., 469; Delehay, *Actes*, pp. 92, 105, 108; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 122, 129, 139, 140, 143-4.

<sup>7</sup> Le Strange, *Caliphate*, pp. 193, 206, 208, 219, 224, 242, 245, 255, 256, 271, 341-2, 408, 409, 421-2; Schwarz, *Iran*, pp. 31, 35, 44, 54, 69, 91, 124, 337, 371, 492, 537, 610, 630-1, 638, 640, 645, 810-1.

<sup>8</sup> Jackson, *PPP* pp. 121, 133-42, 253-61, 281, 302-3, 342-3; *id.*, *Constantinople*, pp. 80, 89, 215.

<sup>9</sup> Curtius Rufus, IV, xiii, 12; xiv, 24; Epiphanius, *Expositio fidei*, 13; Delehay, *Actes*, pp. 23, 24, 27, 29, 37, 48, 49, 52, 57, 64, 82-3, 85; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 27, 29, 100, 101, 118, 142, 180; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 24, 53, 88.



VIII, iii, 12); and sacrifice was offered to it by 'putting on it dry logs without the bark, adding fat from above: then they kindle it from below, pouring oil over it, not blowing it, but fanning it; any who have blown it, or have laid a dead body or dung upon fire, they put to death' (Strabo, p. 732).<sup>1</sup> The sacred fire was quenched when the King died (Diodorus Siculus, xvii, 114), and was sometimes incorrectly supposed to be regarded as one of the two primal elements, water being the other (Vitruvius, *De architectura*, viii, praef. 1; Dino, cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protreptica*, V, lxv, 1; Hippolytus, *Refutationes*, I, ii, 13).

Firmicus Maternus (*De errore profanarum religionum*, 5) has a division of fire into male and female, which, despite the later bifurcation of fire into *adar* (sacred fire) and *ataš* (profane fire),<sup>2</sup> seems to have been influenced by the feminine gender of the Semitic word for 'fire' (Syriac *nārā*, Arabic *nār*). In the Syriac *Acts of Mār 'Abdā* Hāšū declares that 'fire is no daughter of God, but a servant and a handmaid for Kings and men of low estate, for rich, poor, and beggars', and it was 'a goddess of the Magians'.<sup>3</sup> In Armenia, likewise, fire is held to be the sister of water, who is masculine,<sup>4</sup> although according to another version they were brothers (Lazar P'arp'i, i, 28, 39).

Ātar finds a feminine counterpart in the Scythian Tabiti, whom Herodotus (iv, 59) equates with Hestia, but the meaning of whose name is quite doubtful.<sup>5</sup> The resemblance of Ātar to the Vedic Agni is too well known to require discussion; but it should be noted that the Indo-Iranians are the only Indo-European peoples who possess real fire-deities, such divinities

<sup>1</sup> For the traditions that Cyrus endeavoured to burn Croesus and fourteen Lydians alive (Herodotus, i, 86) and that Cambyzes cremated the mummy of Amasis (ib. iii, 16) see Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 60, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. M. Kateli, 'Ādar and Ātash in the Pāzand Writings', in *The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 239-40.

<sup>3</sup> Braun, *Akten*, pp. 141, 231; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 35. Fire also appears as feminine in one of the tales of the *Arabian Nights* (tr. Payne, vi, 124, 143).

<sup>4</sup> Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 56-7.

<sup>5</sup> Like K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Munich, 1837, p. 286, and K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1870-1900, iii, 108, note 4. Schrader, in *BRE* ii, 35, and *Sprachvergleichung*, ii, 485, connects Tabiti with the base *\*tepe-*, 'to be hot'; but Hirt, *Indogermanen*, p. 587, compares it with Carian *ταβζ*, 'rock', and Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6, with Vogul *taūt*, *taot*, 'fire'.

as Hestia being hearth-goddesses<sup>1</sup>. In his aspect as the son of Ahura Mazda Ātar perhaps originally represented the lightning.

The five Avestan fires—Bərəzisavah, Vohu-fryāna, Urvāzišta, Vāzišta, and Spēništa—are separately mentioned as worshipful beings in Ys. xvii, 11; lix, 11 (cf. also Yt. xiii, 85; Vd. xix, 40).

### Section D.

#### DAĒNĀ.

In addition to somewhat vague lists (Ys. i, 13; ii, 13; viii, 3; xvi, 6; lxxi, 4; Yt. xviii, 8), the goddess Daēnā ('Religion, Bright' [?]) is mentioned with Hvarə, Vayu, and Čistā (Ys. xxii, 24; xxv, 5); the Aməša Spəntas, ǝwāša, Zrvan, Vayu, Vāta, and 'Arədvī', (Vd. xix, 13); Tištrya, Vanant, ǝwāša, Zrvan, Vāta, Čistā, and the Path (Ny. i, 8); the Aməša Spəntas and the Waters (Yt. ii, 12); Sraoša, Rašnu, Miθra, Vāta, Āfriti, etc. (Ys. lxx, 3); Ahura Mazda and Sraoša (VYt. 14); and Miθra and Rašnu (VYt. 52). Tištrya laments the fate which awaits Daēnā, Ahura Mazda, Waters, and Plants if Apaoša should conquer and congratulates them when the peril is averted (Yt. viii, 23, 29). She is the sister of Aši, Sraoša, Rašnu, and Miθra, and so is the daughter of Ahura Mazda and Ārmaiti (Yt. xvii, 15-6). With Aši, Pārəndi, and Zam she watches over the welfare of women (Ys. xiii, 1); she is identified with Arštāt (Vsp. vii, 2); and the entire sixteenth Yašt, though called the Dēn Yašt, is devoted to the laudation of Čistā, with whom Daēnā is elsewhere associated (Sir. i, 24; ii, 24). Her two companions, who attend upon other deities as well, are Āxsti and Hə-m-vainti (Yt. xi, 16); she guides victoriously on the path to Aša (VYt. 42) and prepares the way for Miθra (Yt. x, 68); and her Upamana,<sup>2</sup> together with Čistā, attends on the left of Miθra's chariot, Rašnu being on its right, and Dāmōiš Upamana and Ātar behind (?) (Yt. x, 126-7). She is rich in kine and fodder, wherein she delights (Yt. xiii, 100). Bound in fetters, she was released by Vištāspa, who set her

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 88-101; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 157-300; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 154-62; and for the subject generally, A. E. Crawley, 'Fire, Fire-Gods', in *ERE* vi, 26-30. For Ātar see further Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 134-7.

<sup>2</sup> For the possible meaning of this term as indicating some subsidiary quality or aspect see below, p. 142.

in the midst as an invincible ruler on high (Yt. xiii, 100). From Ahura Mazda Haoma received her, a girdle star-adorned and spirit-fashioned (Ys. ix, 26). She is closely associated with the 'Wise Lord' (Yt. xix, 82), with whom she contracted 'next-of-kin marriage'<sup>1</sup> (Ys. xii, 9), whence she has the distinctive epithet *xšaēnadaša-* and perhaps also *mazdayasnya-* ('Mazda-honouring'). This reference to her wifehood receives striking illustration from a Cappadocian Aramaic inscription of the second century B.C.: "This (?) Dēn-Mazdayasniš (דִּינִימַזְדַּיַסְנִישׁ), the Queen (?), the sister and wife (אִתָּתָא וְאִתָּתָא) of Bēl, spake thus: "I am the wife of King Bēl". Thereupon Bēl spake thus to Dēn-Mazdayasniš: "Thou, my sister, art very wise and fairer than the goddesses; and therefore I have made thee wife of Bēl (?)"<sup>2</sup>. Daēnā's blessing is manifested when she makes her abode in the home of the pious, and she is distinguished for worth (SIS xxii, 24; xxiii, 4). She presides over the twenty-fourth day of the month (Sir. i, 24; ii, 24; SIS xxii, 24; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). According to the Haptaṛhāiti (Ys. xlv, 11), Armaiti will come to those to whom Daēnā is proclaimed.

In the Pahlavi texts Dīn, who was the first to appear after Vohūman (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 28), co-operates with Tištar, Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīsūr, the Fravašis, Hōm, Vāṭ, and Būrj to execute the commands of Aūharmazd regarding rain, and she, with Arēdvīsūr, Vāṭ, and Ātar, routs the demons who would stay it (Dk. III, cxii, 5). She is worn as a girdle by Spendarmat (ZS xii, 4-5). Her special foe is the demon Xūt-dōšagīh (DD xciv, 2), and she is associated with Mitrō, Rašn, Vāhrām, Vāi, and Aštāt (AVN v, 3).

In the Avesta the chief exclusive epithets of Daēnā, besides the two already mentioned, are *nīdāsnaīθiš-* ('laying weapons down'), *fraspāyaoxōdra-* ('casting forth the onslaught'), *vispō-varəzəya-* ('all-working'), *sraota-gaoša-* ('possessing an ear for hearing' [?]), and *hačat-aša-* ('having Aša following'). She shares *āhurya-* ('associated with Ahura') with Sraoša and the Aməša Spentas; *paraθu-frāka* ('broadly proceeding') with 'Arədvī'; *frādat-gaēθa-* ('furthering creatures') with Arštāt, Aša, Ahura Mazda, Sraoša, and Haoma; *mazišta-* ('most great') with Ahura Mazda and Miθra; and *vouru-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this type of marriage L. H. Gray, in *ERE* viii, 456-9, and the references there given.

<sup>2</sup> M. Lidzbarski, in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i (1902), 7-9; cf. Moulton, *EZ* p. 119.

*rafnah-* ('wide-reaching') with Ahura Mazda. It is perhaps worth nothing, in view of her close association with the 'Wise Lord', that only she and Dāmi (i.e., the 'Creator', Ahura Mazda) possess an Upamana.

Besides forming a component of several other Avestan, Pahlavi, and Parsi personal names, the appellative Daēnā is found in the Armeno-Persian Varazdēn ('Professing the Religion of the Boar, i.e., Vərəθraγna), and probably in Amedines (the scribe of Darius III), as well as in the 𐤀𐤎𐤍 of Aramaic incantation-texts.<sup>1</sup>

The word *daēnā-* is regarded by Bartholomae<sup>2</sup> as forming two homonyms, one meaning 'religion', and the other 'individuality, ego'; but this view is rejected by Persson,<sup>3</sup> who, like Geldner,<sup>4</sup> holds that the two are identical and connected with the Avestan base *dā(y)-* (Sanskrit *dhi-*), 'to see'. While the divine name Daēnā was undoubtedly felt to be the word *daēnā-*, 'religion', it would seem, from the deity's association with the celestial divinities Sraoša, Miθra, Rašnu, and Hvarə, and particularly from her mention together with Ahura Mazda and Cistā, as well as from the description of her as a star-adorned girdle, that she was also a heavenly goddess, apparently of the sky.<sup>5</sup> If this be so, her name would seem to be a third homonym and to be cognate with the Indo-European base *\*deie-*, 'light', found in Sanskrit *dī-*, 'to see', Greek *δέλος*, 'brilliant', *δῆλος* 'plain, clear', Latin *nun-dinae*, 'ninth-days', Gothic *sin-teins*, 'daily', Lithuanian *dienā*, Old Church Slavic *dinī* 'day', etc.<sup>6</sup> Originally, then, she would be 'the Bright (Lady)'. Later identified with Cistā (thus explaining her epithets *nīdāšnāidiš* and *fraspāyoaxədra-*, which so strikingly suggest Cistā's *huanvitačina* and *hvāyoazda-*), she may have begun as the 'shining' sky-goddess, the female counterpart of the male sky-god, like the Vedic Dyauh Devī, who is thus expressly named in Rig Veda X, lix, 7. and who also appears as feminine in I, xxxv, 6, 7; lvii, 5; V, liv, 9;

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 14, 76, 82, 84-5, 131, 154, 172, 181, 213, 347, 349-50, 357, 490; Montgomery, *Incantation*, xxxii, 2; xxxv, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *AirWb.* coll. 665, 666; see also Moulton, *EZ* p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 717.

<sup>4</sup> *Metrik*, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 101, however, regards her as 'religion deified', as does Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 77, 168, 169, 182; Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, i. 253-4; Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 55; and especially Hirt, *Vokalismus*, p. 190.

Ixiii, 6; VI, xvii, 9; VIII, xx, 6; xl, 4; IX, xevi, 3; X, lxxxviii, 3; cxi, 5; while 'some call the Sky (*Divam*), and some the Dawn (*Ušasam*)', Prajāpati's daughter, of whom he became enamoured (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 33; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I, vii, 4<sup>1</sup>). A comparison of Daēnā with Prajāpati's daughter suggests that the Avesta here preserves a fragment of an Indo-Iranian sky-myth in which the sky-goddess united in marriage with her father, the Indian Prajāpati and the Iranian Ahura Mazda.

### Section E.

#### DRVĀSPĀ.

Named with Gōuš Tašan and Gōuš Urvan (Sir. i, 14), the goddess Drvāspā ('Possessing Sound Horses') is celebrated in the ninth Yašt, which describes her as giving health to cattle, friends, and children and as possessing many spies (§ 1), as having horses and a car with resounding wheels (§ 2), and as receiving sacrifice from Haošyaŋha, Yima, ərətaona, Haoma, Haosravah, Zaraθuštra, and Vištāspa for all manner of boons (§§ 3-32). Her chief exclusive epithets are *drvō-apərənāyuka-* ('possessing sound children'), *drvō-urvaša-* ('possessing sound friends'), *drvō-pasu-* ('possessing sound flocks'), *drvō-varata-* ('possessing a sound abode' [?]), *drvō-staora-* ('possessing sound cattle'), *drvō-staiti-* ('possessing sound standing'), *pouru-spaxšti-* ('possessing many spies'), *fšaoni-maraza-* ('touching with exuberance' [?]), *yuxta-aspa-* ('possessing yoked horses'), *varətō-raša-* ('possessing a rolling car'), *xāθravana-* ('possessing well-being'), and *xāsaoka-* ('possessing good advantage'). She shares the epithet *θrātara-* ('protector') with Ahura Mazda, and *xānaṭ-čaxra-* ('possessing resounding wheels') with Aši; and like 'Arədvī', Aši, Ahura Mazda, Tixtrya, the Fravašis, Vanant, Haoma, and Haptō-iringa, she is *baēšazya-* ('healing'). In the Pahlavi texts the left shoulder of the sacrificial victim is her portion (SIS xi, 4).

In Mithraism Drvāspā was identified with Silvanus and with the Gaulish horse-goddess Epona;<sup>1</sup> and another feminine divinity of horses is found in the Lithuanian Rataiciza ('Wheel-Possessor'), whose name is connected with Lithuanian *rātas* 'wheel'.<sup>2</sup> The Avestan name has no theophoric equivalent

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 147-8, 152; see also Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 1447-50; R. Peter, in Roscher, i, 1286-93; Keune, in *PW* vi, 228-43; and especially H. Hubert, 'Le Mythe d'Epona', in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. J. Vendryes*, Paris, 1925, pp. 187-98.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 100; cf. Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 238.

elsewhere, although Dhruvāśva occurs as a late Paurāṇic personal name, as does the Armenian Druasp, the appellative of a favourite of Tigranes I,<sup>1</sup> and an Indian Dhruvāśva-sacrifice is described in Mānava Grhya-Sūtra ii, 6.

A survey of Drvāspā's characteristics and epithets seems to show that she was not originally a deity of animals and that she cannot be compared with such a divinity as the Indian Paśupati ('Cattle-Lord'), a form of Rudra<sup>2</sup> from the Atharva Veda (II, xxxiv, 1; XI, vi, 9; XV, v, 3; and especially XI, ii) onward. From her epithets *drvō-varata-* ('possessing a sound abode'; cf. *rāma-śayana-* ['possessing a peaceful abode'] and *kuśayana-* ['possessing a good abode'] of Tiṣṭrya and Miśra; *zairimya-* ['possessing a (fixed) abode'] of Māh; *hvāyaona-* ['possessing a good place'] of Cistā and Varāgrāya; and *dhruvākṣema-* as used of Mitra-Varuṇa in RV IV, xiii, 3; V, lxxii, 2), *pouru-spaxṣti-* ('possessing many spies'; cf. *baēvarə-spasana-* ['possessing ten thousand spies'] of Miśra), *yuxta-aspa-* ('possessing yoked horses'; cf. *auruśāspa-* ['possessing white horses'] of Miśra; *aurvat-aspa-* ['possessing swift horses'] of Apām Napāt and Hvarə; and *raṇjat-aspa-*, *rauat-aspa-* ['making horses run swiftly'] of Uśah), *varatō-raṭa-* ('possessing a rolling car'; cf. *hurāḥya-* ['possessing a good chariot'] of Miśra; *raoraṭa-* ['possessing a swift car'] of Pārəndi; and *zaranyō-vāśa-* ['possessing a golden car'] of Vayu), *xʷanat-čaxra-* ('possessing resounding wheels'; cf. *zaranyō-čaxra-* ['possessing golden wheels'] of Vayu; and the *surā rāṭha* of the Ásvins in RV I, xlvii, 7, etc., and of Sūryā in RV X, lxxxv, 20), and *fšaoni-maraza-* ('touching with exuberance' [?]; cf. *āzuiti-dā-* ['giving fatness'] of Miśra) it would appear that she was a celestial deity, and that her appellation was in reality only a possessive adjective, 'She who Possesses Sound Horses'. Her epithets, studied comparatively, might seem to associate her with Miśra more closely than with any other divinity, and it is noteworthy that Miśra is once called *hvaspa-* ('possessing good horses'; Yt. x, 76). On the other hand, in the Rig Veda it is the Ásvins (as well as Indra, Agni, and the Maruts), not Mitra, who are *svāśva-* ('possessing good horses'); and the same statement (except that the Maruts are not mentioned) holds true for *surāṭha-* ('possessing a good chariot'), a term which may be compared with Miśra's *hurāḥya-* ('possessing a good chariot') and with Drvāspā's *varatō-raṭa-*.

<sup>1</sup> PWb. iii, 1004; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 74-7; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 181-208; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 142-50.

It would seem, on the whole, that Drvāspā was the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Sūryā, the daughter of the Sun (Sūrya), the companion of the Aśvins (whence she is termed Aśvinī in RV V, xlvī, 8), and possibly another name or aspect of Uṣas.<sup>1</sup> She would appear to represent the dawning sun, but is scarcely to be compared with the Greek Aigle, an apotheosis of the bright sky and a daughter and wife of Helios;<sup>2</sup> neither is she an analogue of the Lithuanian sun-goddess Sāule, since *sāule*, 'sun,' is feminine in gender, so that no male solar deity was possible among the Baltic peoples.<sup>3</sup>

### Section F.

#### FRAVAŠIS.

The guardian spirits termed Fravašis ('Forefathers'), developed from the cult of ancestors, have repeatedly been discussed with great thoroughness;<sup>4</sup> and the thirteenth Yašt is explicitly devoted to their honour. Through them sky, 'Arədvī', and earth are sustained, children are preserved in the womb, and all processes of nature have their course (§§ 2-16, 22, 28, 53-8); they grant victory (§§ 17-9, 23-4, 31-40, 45-8, 66-72) and cause rain by the agency of Satavaēsa (§§ 43-4), giving blessings to their worshippers (§§ 49-52); 99,999 of them watch over the sea Vouru-kaša, Haptō-iringa, the body of Kərəsāspa, and the seed of Zaraθuštra (§§ 59-62), for they are numbered by many hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands (§ 65); Ahura Mazda, the Aməša Spəntas, and countless other sacred beings possess them (§§ 80-7); and the individual Fravaši attending on each of many heroes is invoked (§§ 95-142), as are those of the collective righteous in other lands (§§ 143-9). They preside over the nineteenth day of each month of the Avestan calendar

<sup>1</sup> See Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 51; Bergaigne, *Religion*, ii, 486-93 (cf. also pp. 432-3); Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 41-2; Oldenberg, *Religion*, pp. 212-3, 241; Keith, *Religion*, p. 119. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 125 (cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 299) regards Drvāspā as 'the female genius of cattle'; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism* p. 58, as personifying the animal creation; Spiegel, *EA* ii, 76 (cf. de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cxxv), as identical with Gāus Urvan.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 587, note 1; 1061, note O; W. H. Roscher, in Roscher, i, 153.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 100-1; Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> N. Söderblom, *Les Fravašis*, Paris, 1899 (=RHR xxxix, 229-60, 373-418); de Harlez, *Avesta*, pp. cxix-cxxv; Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 258-64; Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 992-5; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 143-50, 243-6; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 254-85, and in *ERE* vi, 116-8; cf. also E. Lehmann, 'Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Iranian)', in *ERE* i, 454-5.

(Sir. i, 19; ii, 19; SIS xxii, 19; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24) as well as over the first month (Bd. xxv. 20), which recurs in Cappadocian as *Απραίστην*, *Απραυα*, and several other variants.<sup>1</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts the Fravašis stand in the presence of Aūharmazd and battle against the Druj (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 35). Together with Tištar, Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīvsūr, Hōm, Dīn, Vāt, and Būrj they execute the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain, which they and Būrj distribute (Dk. III, cxii, 5), besides helping Tištar to obtain water (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 35). They are associated with Srōš, Rašn, Aštāt, and Vāi in the cult of the dead (SIS xvii, 4); and their collective representative, Artāi-Fravart, is sent by Aūharmazd, together with Spendarmat and Arēdvīvsūr, to aid the infant Zaratūšt (ZS xvi, 3). They receive the entrail fat as their portion of the sacrificial victim (SIS xi, 4); their gift is offspring, and they are distinguished for power (ib. xxii, 19; xxiii, 3).

The chief exclusive epithets of the Fravašis in the Avesta are *anū-ma-hwa-* ('unwaylayable'), *ayō-xaōda-* ('possessing metal helmets'), *ayō-verətra-* ('possessing metal shields'), *ayō-zaya-* ('possessing metal weapons'), *airime-arəhaδ-* ('sitting quietly'), *arəzayant-* ('battling'), *avi-ama-* ('exceeding strong'), *aš-barət-* ('much-bringing'), *āsnō-urvan-* ('possessing successful souls'), *uγra-zaoša-* ('strong-willed'), *urvinyant-* ('crushing'), *uzγarəptō-drafsa-* ('possessing banners lifted high'), *xrvišyant-* ('terrible'), *tušnišaδ-* ('sitting quietly'), *darəγō-ra-rōman-* ('long tranquillising'), *dasəθavant-* ('rich in possessions'), *perəθu-yaona-* ('possessing broad places'), *pouru-spāda-* ('possessing many armies'), *frasčandayant-* ('destroying'), *bānya-* ('radiant'), *yāskarət-* ('making the consummation [of the world]'), *yastō-zayah-* ('having weapons girded on'), *ra-rəma-* ('calming'), *rənjišta-* ('most swift'), *vanat-pəšana-* ('winning in battle'), *vasō-yaona-* ('possessing abodes at pleasure'), *vərəθraγna-* ('victorious'), *vičira-* ('deciding'), *vičāyant-* ('driving hence'), *vərəzi-čašman-* ('possessing energetic eyes'), *sraotanu-* ('sturdy-bodied'), *sraobra-* ('hearing'), *zaoyārət-* ('summons-hearing'), *hudoštra-* ('possessing good eyes'), and *huyaona-* ('possessing good places'). They share with Miθra the epithets *aiwišūra-* ('victorious round about'), *arəδra-* ('true'), *gufra-* ('deep, mysterious'), and *bərəzyāsta-* ('high-girdled'); with Miθra and Čistā *fra-srūta-* ('famous'); with Tištrya *raγō-fraoθman-* ('possessing swift flight'); with Tištrya and Ahura Mazda *dūraē-sūka-*

<sup>1</sup> J. Marquart, in *Philologus*, lv (1896), 231, note 54, derives *Απραυα* from Old Persian \**varīnānā(m)* for \**varīnām*, the preverb *fra* seeming not to have been used with *var-* in Old Persian.



('far-glancing'); with *Tištrya*, *Vayu*, and *Xvarənah uparō-kairya*- ('possessing activity on high'); with *Ahura Mazda*, *Vāta*, *Sraoša*, and *Haoma vərəθrajan-* ('victorious'); with *Haoma tančišta-* ('most sturdy'); with *Sraoša hamvarəitəvant-* ('capable of defending'); with *Aši xvarəna-* ('bringing welfare'); and with *Usah* and *Pərəndi rayu-* ('swift, light').

Antiochus of Commagene probably refers to his *Fravaši* when, in his inscription at *Nimūd Dāy*, he 'preserves a just counterfeit (*μίμημα δίκαιον*) of the immortal thought (*φροντίς*) which oftentimes stood visibly by me as a kindly helper in my kingly endeavours'.<sup>1</sup> Whether, on the other hand, they are the *θεοὶ τοὶ Περσίδεζ γῆν λελόγγχου* of *Herodotus* (vii, 53) or the *θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες οἱ Περσίδεζ γῆν ἔχοντες* of *Xenophon* (*Cyropaedia*, II, i, 1; cf. *ἥρωες γῆς Μηδίεζ οὐκ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ κηδεμόνες* ib. III, iii, 22; *ἥρωες οἱ Συρίαν ἔχοντες* ib. VIII, iii, 24), as *Clemen* supposes,<sup>2</sup> is less certain. They were clearly known in *Media*, as is evident from the name *Φραβόρτης*, borne by the father and the son of *Dioces*, as well as by the *Faravartīš* who unsuccessfully rebelled against *Darius I.*<sup>3</sup>

The solution of the etymology of the word *Fravaši* is far from easy. It is evidently composed of *fra* ('before') and *vaši-*, but the latter component may represent an original *\*vrt-i-*, *\*vr-ti-*, *\*vrt-i-* or *\*vl-ti-*.<sup>4</sup> Each of these forms may be derived from any one of a number of bases: (1) *\*ure-*, *\*ure-*, 'to cover', in Sanskrit *var-*, 'to cover', Avestan *var-*, 'to cover' (also 'impregnate'), Old Church Slavonic *vřeti*, 'to shut', etc.;<sup>5</sup> (2) *\*ure-*, 'to see', in Greek *ὄρω*, 'to see';<sup>6</sup> (3) *\*ure-*, 'to speak', in Sanskrit *vratā-*, 'command', Avestan *urvata-*, 'ordinance', Greek *εἶπω*, 'to say', etc.;<sup>7</sup> (4) *\*uale-*, 'to choose', in Sanskrit and Avestan *var-*, 'to choose', Latin *volo*, 'to wish', etc.;<sup>8</sup> (5) *\*uele-*, 'to be hot', in Gothic *wulan*, 'to boil', etc.;<sup>9</sup> (6) *\*uele-*

<sup>1</sup> Moulton, *EZ* pp. 107-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Nachrichten*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Justi*, *Namenbuch*, p. 105; for the form of the Old Persian name cf. *Meillet*, *Perse*, p. 48, 163.

<sup>4</sup> See *Brugmann*, *Grundriss*, II, i, 166-75, 428-40; *Walde-Pokorny*, *Wörterbuch*, i, 263-88, 293-305.

<sup>5</sup> For further cognates see *Walde*, *Wörterbuch*, p. 50; *Muller*, *Wörterbuch*, p. 536.

<sup>6</sup> See *Boisacq*, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 709-10; cf. also Albanian *urte* 'prudent' (*N. Jokl*, *Studien zur albanesischen Etymologie und Wortbildung*, Vienna, 1911, p. 93).

<sup>7</sup> *Walde*, p. 820; *Boisacq*, pp. 229-30; *Muller*, p. 538-9.

<sup>8</sup> *Walde*, *Wörterbuch*, p. 855; *Muller*, *Wörterbuch*, p. 529.

<sup>9</sup> *Feist*, *Wörterbuch*, p. 439.

'to break', in Latin *vello*, 'to pluck', etc.,<sup>1</sup> identical with (7) \**uele-*, 'to deceive', in Anglo-Saxon *wil*, 'wile', Lithuanian *všlius*, 'deceit', etc.;<sup>2</sup> (8) \**uele-*, 'to turn', in Sanskrit *val-*, Greek *εἰλω*, Latin *volvo*, 'to turn', etc.;<sup>3</sup> (9) \**yale-*, 'to be strong', in Latin *valeo*, 'to be strong', etc.;<sup>4</sup> (10) \**yerte-*, 'to turn', in Sanskrit *var-*, 'to turn, exist', Avestan *varət-*, Latin *verto*, 'to turn', Gothic *vairpan*, 'to become', Old Church Slavic *vrūtiti*, Lithuanian *virsti*, 'to turn', etc.; and (11) \**ualte-* 'to rule' (a *t*-extension of \**uele-*, 'to be strong'), in Tocharian *lānt* (for \**ylānt*), 'ruler', Old Irish *flaith*, 'kingdom', Old Church Slavic *vlātū*, 'giant', Lettish *valīt*, Old Icelandic *valda*, Old High German *waltan*, 'to rule'.<sup>5</sup>

Of the numerous possibilities thus afforded Moulton<sup>6</sup> preferred *var-*, 'to impregnate'; Söderblom<sup>7</sup> would choose either *var-*, 'to protect', or *var-*, 'to turn', inclining toward the latter in the sense of 'ce qui s'en va'; Bartholomae<sup>8</sup> advanced no solution; Justi<sup>9</sup> held that *var-*, 'to be', was the most probable cognate.

It would appear that the choice must lie between \**pra-var-ti* or \**pra-var-t-i-*, each of which may be either a verbal abstract or an agent.<sup>10</sup> In Sanskrit *pra-var* means, *inter alia*, 'to come forth, arise, happen, continue, exist'; and Pahlavi *vaštan*, like its Modern Persian equivalent *gaštan*, signifies 'to become' as well as 'to turn' (cf. also Sanskrit *pravartaka-*, 'making manifest, causing', *pravṛtti-*, 'manifestation, origin, activity').<sup>11</sup> Comparison may further be made with Latin *vector*, 'to be engaged in, to be', Lithuanian *pavirsti*, 'to become something, to transform oneself into something', and especially Gothic

<sup>1</sup> Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 813-4; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> Falk-Torp, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1406; Trautmann, *Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 409; *id.* *Wörterbuch*, p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> Boisacq, pp. 224-5; Walde, pp. 856-7; Muller, pp. 529-30.

<sup>4</sup> Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 804; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 518.

<sup>5</sup> Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 824-5; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 417-8.

<sup>6</sup> *EZ* pp. 270-1.

<sup>7</sup> *Les Fravašis*, pp. 56-8.

<sup>8</sup> *AirWb.* col. 995.

<sup>9</sup> *Zendsprache*, p. 199; in *Namenbuch*, p. 105 (so also in *GirP* ii, 411; cf. A. V. W. Jackson, *Avesta Reader*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 80), he prefers *var-*, 'to choose' (cf. Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, p. 59).

<sup>10</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 167, 428; cf. also Lindner, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 55-7, 76-9; Bartholomae, in *GirP* i, 102-3; Hirt, *Handbuch*, pp. 398-9; Lindsay, *Latin*, pp. 338-9, 340-2; Leskien, *Bildung*, pp. 84-9, 395-406; Miklosich, *Grammatik*, ii, 53-9, 165-9.

<sup>11</sup> The word *pravṛtti-* cannot be compared directly with *fravaši-*, since the Sanskrit term would give \**fravarašti-* in Avestan (cf. Sanskrit *kṛti-*, 'a cutting', from *kart-*: Avestan *karəšti-*).

*frawairðan*, 'καταφθίρουσι' (2 Tim. iii, 8), *frawardjan*, 'ἀφελίζω' (Matt. vi, 16, 19), 'φθίρω' (2 Cor. vii, 2), *frawardejins*, 'ἀλεθρος' (1 Tim. vi, 9), as well as Old Icelandic *fyrir-verpa*, 'to vanish', Old Saxon *far-werðan*, Anglo-Saxon *for-weorpan*, Old High German *far-werdan*, 'to perish'.

To summarise the argument here set forth, the Fravašis were originally \**pra-vī-a-as* (Indo-European \**pro-ufte-i-es*), 'those who existed before', i.e. the ancestors. Later they became guardian spirits, either because beneficent ancestors were naturally regarded as protective, or because the term was combined with a homonymous \**pro-uf-te-i-es*, 'protectors', from the base \**uere-*, 'to cover', which would likewise give the Avestan form *fravašayah* (cf. Sanskrit *pra-var-* 'to ward off').<sup>1</sup> The theory of a contamination of two homonyms seems best to fit all the requirements.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever etymological explanation be accepted, the Fravašis obviously belonged primarily only to human beings, their extension to the divine world being due to that analogy which has ever led man to shape the gods in his own image. They find at least partial counterparts in the Indian *pitāras* ('fathers') and the Roman *manes*, as well as in the Lithuanian *Gulbi Dewos*, the guardian spirit of each individual.<sup>3</sup>

### Section G.

#### GŌŪŠ URVAN.

In the Gāthās (Ys. xxviii, 1) Zaratuštra prays for the works of Spənta Mainyu to please Vohu Manah and Gōūš Urvan ('Soul of the Kine'), and the latter makes complaint against Aēšma and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Sanskrit *varūtār-*, *vāraka-*, 'defender', Avestan *pairi-vāra-* (Sanskrit *parivāra-*), 'protection, wall', *sāra-vāra-*, 'helmet', and especially *fra-vāra-* (Sanskrit *pravāra-*), 'bastion', Greek ἐπρω, 'to protect', ἡρπζος, 'protector, chief, king', Welsh *gwawr*, 'hero', Gothic *warjan*, 'to defend', etc. (Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 285-6, 328).

<sup>2</sup> Tiele (*Religion*, ii, 260, note 2, 262) also suspected a confusion between two classes of spirits who derived their names respectively from \**uere-*, 'to cover, protect', and \**uele-*, 'to turn, roll'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Caland, *Altindischer Ahnencult*, Leyden, 1893; Bergaigne, *Religion*, i, 92-100, 133-5; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 413-23; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 425-32; A. C. Pearson, 'Heroes and Hero-Gods (Greek and Roman)', in *ERE* vi, 652-6; J. B. Carter, 'Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Roman)', ib. i, 461-6; L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford, 1921; Mogk, *Mythologie*, pp. 20-34; MacCulloch, *Religion*, pp. 165-70; Máchal, *Mythology*, pp. 233-9; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 91; Schrader, 'Ahnenkultus', in *RL* 2d ed., i, 18-38, and in *ERE* ii, 16-31. For traces of Armenian ancestor-cults see Aharonian, *Croyances*, pp. 60-8.

the oppression to which the ox is subjected (xxix, 1);<sup>1</sup> while in the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxix, 1) honour is given to him as well as to Gōuš Tašan.

In the Younger Avesta he is usually mentioned after Gōuš Tašan (Ys. i, 2; lxx, 2; Vsp. ix, 5; Sir. i, 14; FW vi, 1); but he is also listed with Xvarənah, Māh, and Tištrya (Ys. xvi, 4), or with Hvarə, Māh, Tištrya, Satavaēsa, the Stars, Vanant, and Drvāspā (Sir. ii, 11-14), and is named on an equality with Vərəθraγna (Yt. xiv, 54) or with the souls and Fravašis of the earliest adherents of the religion (Ys. xxvi, 4). He presides over the fourteenth day of the month (Sir. i, 14; ii, 14; SLS xxii, 14; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24), is a protector of animals, and is distinguished for swiftness (SLS xxii, 14; xxiii, 2). In the Pahlavi texts, furthermore, Gōšūrun, an auxiliary of Vohūman, is the soul of the primeval ox, and his function is to nourish the world (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 9, 11; Bd. iv, 1-5). He was a friend of Keresāsp, whose soul he refused to allow to enter hell (Dk. IX, xv, 3; SBE xviii, 380).

Moulton suggested<sup>2</sup> that Gōuš Urvan bears the same relation to cattle that the Fravašis sustain toward mankind; while Haug<sup>3</sup> held that he was 'the universal soul of earth, the cause of all life and growth...for the earth is compared to a cow'; and Tiele<sup>4</sup> regarded him as an old creator-god later specialised as the creator of cattle.

The association of Gōuš Urvan with celestial deities and with Vərəθraγna must, however, cause some hesitation in accepting either of these explanations. The bull and the cow also figure as celestial beings in the Rīg Veda. A cow dwells in the house of Apām Napāt (II, xxxv, 7); Aditi is a cow (I, cliii, 3, etc.), as is Indra's mother (IV, xviii, 10; cf. X, cxi, 2); Vāyu is associated (I, cxxxiv, 4) with the 'nectar-yielding' (*sabardūghā*) cow made by the Rbhus (I, xx, 3; cx, 8; clxi, 3, 6, 7; IV, xxxiii, 4, 8; xxxiv, 9; cf. also VI, xlviii, 11; VIII, i, 10; X, lxix, 8); the Maruts are the children of Rudra by the cow Prśnī (II, xxxiv, 2; V, lii, 16; lx, 5; VI, lxvi, 3), who is usually interpreted as the rain-cloud;<sup>5</sup> and these clouds are regarded as cows.<sup>6</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> See further below, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *EZ* p. 346, note 6; cf. E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 20, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays*, p. 148; cf. pp. 165, note 1, 202, 297, and Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 44-5, 125-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Religion*, ii, 133-4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 78, 80, 125; Keith, *Religion* p. 198. Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 306-8, however, interprets her as the dark half of the year.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 10, 12.

the Atharva Veda (X, x, 4, 6-8, 10-1, 14-5, 20) the cow has a thousand streams; her spouse is Parjanya; her teats are lightnings; she has given water, cultivated fields, dominion, and food, but Indra deprived her of her milk, which is kept in three vessels in the firmament; she has united with the wind and the sun; and from her teats the rays were born. The gods are frequently termed bulls in the Rîg Veda: Indra (X, cxi, 2), Agni (X, viii, 1), Rudra (II, xxxiii, 4, 8, 15), Soma (IX, ii, 6, etc.), Parjanya (V, lxxxiii, 1, etc.), and Dyaus (I, clx, 3; V, xxxvi, 5; lviii, 6)<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, the appropriateness of the association of Gəuš Urvan with Vərəθraγna is confirmed by the latter's incarnation as a bull (Yt. xiv, 7).

All possibilities considered, it appears most probable that Gəuš Urvan represents some celestial phenomenon associated with Vərəθraγna-Indra; and this manifestation seems most likely to have been the storm-wind. Gəuš Urvan 'howled' (*raostā*) and 'lamented' (*garzid*; Bd. iv, 1, 4; cf. ZS iii, 1, 3); but he also protects cattle (SlS xxii, 14; cf. the Pahlavi Rivāyat translated by West, in SBE xviii, 380) and nourishes the world (Bd. iv, 5; Gd. Bd. xxvi, 11).

It may be suggested that Gəuš Urvan was the Iranian counterpart of the terrible Vedic Rudra, whose name—at least to the Indians<sup>2</sup>—meant 'He who howls', an etymology which may help to explain the rather curious fact that the 'Soul of the Kine' also 'howled'. As Gəuš Urvan came to protect cattle, so Rudra, malevolent to them (RV I, cxiv, 8, 10; VI, xxviii, 7; AV XI, ii, 21; VS xvi, 3, 47), is besought to watch over them (RV I, xliii, 2, 6; cxiv, 1; AV XI, ii, 9, 21; VS xvi, 4) and later receives the epithet Paśupati ('Cattle-Lord'), which 'is doubtless assigned to him because unhoused cattle are peculiarly exposed to his attacks and are therefore especially consigned to his care'<sup>3</sup> (cf. AV XI, ii, 2, 5, 9, 11, 19; VS xi, 28, 40, etc.).

The celestial nature of the Ox further explains why the moon contains his semen, and he is doubtless the 'sole-created Ox' (*gav aēvō-dāta*) of Yt. vii, 0; Sîr. ii, 12. In the Pahlavi texts this ox is killed by Ahriman, and from his body come

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in general Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* p. 75; for Rudra in general see *ib.* pp. 74-7; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 142-50; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 181-208. This identification seems more plausible than one with the Maruts, though they are particularly associated with Indra (Macdonell, pp. 57, 60, 80-1) or with Prānī.

grain, healing plants, and cattle (Bd. iii, 14, 17-8 ; iv, 1-2 ; x, 1-3 ; xiv, 1-3 ; xxvii, 2 ; ZS ii, 6-7 ; iii, 1 ; ix, 1-8 ; Dk. VII, ii, 67). One may perhaps question, however, whether Ahriman was the one who slaughtered the ox in the original version of the myth. Moulton has drawn attention<sup>1</sup> to implied attacks upon Miθra as tauroctonous and upon Haoma in Ys. xxxii, 10, 14 ; and it may be suggested that as Vohu Manah replaced Miθra in the Gāṣās,<sup>2</sup> so, with the increasing sanctity of kine and the restoration of Miθra to his ancient place of honour, Ahriman was substituted for him in his tauroctonous aspect.<sup>3</sup> As early as the Gāṣās, then, we may have (Ys. xxix ; cf. xlv, 20 ; li, 14) not merely a protest against nomad onslaughts on herds, but also a veiled polemic on the Mithraic slaying of the Bull. If this be correct, the myth of the tauroctonous Miθra, so profoundly discussed by Cumont,<sup>4</sup> is far more ancient than is generally supposed.

It is even possible that, if this interpretation of Gōuš Urvan as the celestial bull originally slain by Miθra, rather than by Ahriman, be valid, we have at least a partial explanation of the primal meaning of the myth of the tauroctonous Miθra. Though we have ventured to see in Gōuš Urvan—and, we may add, in what was probably his earliest form, the 'sole-created ox'—the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Rudra, one must remember that, terrible as the Indian deity is, he has a beneficent aspect.<sup>5</sup> The storm-cloud not only devastates, it also fertilises ; and when the torrential rains have ended and the sun shines forth, earth blooms with vegetation and animal life rejoices. The storm-cloud vanquished by the sun, and nature's palingenesis—such would seem to be the meaning of the Ox slain by Miθra, while from the slaughtered Bull new life comes to the world. Though the myth possesses partial counterparts in India, its developed form would appear to be peculiarly Iranian ; and its earliest version, we may suggest, was preserved by Mithraism, whereas the Avestan form, by its substitution of Ahriman, is an obscuration which would render the legend well-nigh unintelligible were it not for a few scattered allusions which escaped the notice of reformers and redactors.

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<sup>1</sup> *EZ* pp. 72, 129, 140, 357, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 35-7.

<sup>3</sup> A similar suggestion is advanced by Cumont (*TM* i, 186), although he supposes Miθra to have been substituted for Ahriman, the reverse of the development suggested by the present writer.

<sup>4</sup> *TM* i, 166-72, 179-88, 305-6.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 76 ; Keith, *Religion*, p. 143.

## Section H.

## HAOMA.

This divinity, the counterpart of the Indian Soma and the subject of exhaustive discussion by many scholars,<sup>1</sup> is not mentioned by name in the Gāthās, since his cult was deeply disapproved by Zaratustra,<sup>2</sup> although there are a number of unfavourable veiled allusions to him and to his worship (Ys. xxix, 1; xxxii, 10, 12, 14; xlvi, 10; li, 4).

In the Younger Avesta Haoma is celebrated in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh Hās of the Yasna. Blessings attend on those who brew him (Ys. ix, 3-13, 17-23, 27; xi, 10); he drives foes afar (Ys. ix, 24, 28-32; x, 6); he belongs to the righteous, not to the wicked (Ys. x, 16); and he curses with sterility those who fail to do him honour (Ys. x, 15; xi, 3, 5-6). He possesses healing remedies (Ys. x, 7, 9; Vsp. ix, 1-2) which are associated with the bliss of Vohu Manah (Ys. x, 12); and he is the only drink which does not intoxicate (Ys. x, 8 [cf. 14]; Yt. xvii, 5) but fills his worshippers with joy, making the pauper feel rich (Ys. x, 13). It was he who gave Daēnā to Ahura Mazda as a girdle decked with stars and made by spirits (Ys. ix, 26); and he grew primarily on Haraitī (Elburz). There he offered sacrifice to Sraoša, Drvāspā, and Miθra (Ys. x, 10; lvii, 19; Yt. ix, 17; x, 88), and from that height holy birds bore him everywhere, to the Iškata Upāiri-Saēna and the Starō-Sāra mountains, from the lofty mountain-wall to the white-gleaming mountains (Ys. x, 10-11).<sup>3</sup> Thus Haoma grows chiefly on the mountains (Ys. x, 3-4; cf. 17); and the southern wind flies from Vouru-kaša to his paths (Yt. viii, 33). He furthers Aša (Ys. viii, 9), who accompanies him (Ys. x, 8; Yt. xvii, 5). The portion of the sacrificial victim due him is the cheeks, the tongue, and the left eye (Ys. xi, 4-5; SIs xi, 4). Zaratustra honours him (Ys. ix, 16-21); and one passage (Ys. xi, 3), in which he curses those who 'withhold him when brewed, like a thief worthy of

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 168-78, and *EA* i, 432-4; ii, 114-5; Geiger, *OK* pp. 152-3, 230-1, 470-2; Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 234-40; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 119-22; J. J. Modi, 'Haoma in the Avesta', in his *Anthropological Papers*, i (Bombay, 1911 [?]), 225-43, and *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1922, pp. 300-16. For the Indian Soma see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 104-15, and the references there given, to which Keith, *Religion*, pp. 166-72, may now be added.

<sup>2</sup> Moulton, *EZ* pp. 71-3, 358, note 1; 379, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> The 'lofty mountain-wall' is probably Elburz; the 'white-gleaming mountains' are perhaps the western Hindū-Kūš and Ghoraband, north of Kābul (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 398, 1599).

death', may perhaps be interpreted as a protest against the ban placed upon him in the Gāthās.

In the Pahlavi texts Hōm co-operates with Tištar, Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvivsūr, the Fravašis, Dīn, Vāt, and Būrj in executing the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain (Dk. III, cxii, 5); and he also collaborates with Tištar, together with Vohūman and Būrj (Bd. vii, 3; ZS vi, 3).

The chief Avestan epithets peculiar to Haoma are *ašavazah-* ('furthering Aša'), *huxratu-* ('possessing good wisdom'), and *pouru-sarəda-* ('possessing many sorts'), the last of which implies that Haoma was not a single specific plant. He alone is *zantu-paiti-* ('lord of the district'); but he shares with Ātar the epithet *nmānō-paiti-* ('lord of the house'); he and Miθra are *dairəhu-paiti-* ('lord of the land') and *vīspaiti-* ('lord of the village'); and these two, like 'Aredvī', are *anāhita-* ('undefiled').

In Mithraism Haoma was identified with Bacchus,<sup>1</sup> and he is doubtless the *δρυμν* offered to the underworld-god (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 46).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, his appellation is almost wholly lacking in Iranian proper names.<sup>3</sup> In two Aramaic papyri of Elephantine, dating from 459 B.C., the name הומדת ('Given by Haoma'; cf. Sanskrit Somadatta) occurs;<sup>4</sup> but other supposed instances, as the הַמִּדְתָּה of Esther iii, 1, etc.,<sup>5</sup> and the Sakā Haumavargā of the Old Persian inscriptions (NR a, 25),<sup>6</sup> are too doubtful to be cited in this connexion.

The nature of Haoma as a divinity is too thoroughly established to require detailed discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 146-7.

<sup>2</sup> See Moulton, *EZ* pp. 399-400; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 158-60.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, C (=9), 2; D (=8), 2 (pp. 22, 23, 26, 27).

<sup>5</sup> The meaning 'Given (or, Created) by Haoma' is proposed by Benfey, *Monatsnamen*, p. 199, and by St. Clair Tisdall, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series, iv (1913), 101, but is highly uncertain (Septuagint Ἀμαδάθου and variants). For other views see Brown, *Lexicon*, p. 241; L. B. Paton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 69, and in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, Chicago, 1909, ii, 16, 47; P. Jensen, cited by Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 126; Scheftelowitz, *Arisches*, i, 43.

<sup>6</sup> So Tolman, *Lexicon*, p. 131; but see Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, is 102-3; Justi, *Geographie*, ii, 22; Moulton, *EZ* p. 73; and the reference, given by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1735. The reading may equally well be Humavarkā (the Babylonian version has Umurga, and the Elamitic has Umurka). They were the Σκύβρι Ἀμύργιοι of Herodotus vii, 64, and lived in the region corresponding to the modern Bādashān and Tuxāristān, i.e. outside the haoma-area.



## Section I.

## HVARƏ.

The nature of Hvarə ('Sun') is too obvious to require establishment. The sixth Yašt, written in his honour, states that he purifies the earth and all things therein, which otherwise the demons would destroy; and that whosoever venerates him venerates Ahura Mazda and every other sacred being, these words being repeated in the first Nyāišn, also composed in praise of the sun. He is repeatedly mentioned in the Avesta. He is the fairest of Mazda's forms (Ys. xxxvi, 6) and is his eye (Ys. i, 11; lxviii, 22), just as the Vedic Sūrya is the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (RV I, cxv, 1; VI, li, 1; VII, lxi, 1; lxiii, 1; X, xxxvii, 1; cf. I, 1, 6).<sup>1</sup> His chariot is led by Bām̐yā (Yt. x, 143); demons work only after he has set (Yt. iv, 8); and he, like Moon and Stars, goes on his path through the glory of the Fravašis, who showed them these ways whereas hitherto they had remained stationary (Yt. xiii, 16, 57). Hvarə presides over the eleventh day of the month (Śīr. i, 11; ii, 11; SIS xxii, 11; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). His blessing frees the righteous from suspicion, and he is distinguished for powers of observation (SIS. xxii, 11; xxiii, 2), while repentance should be made before the Sun and Mitrō, the Moon and the Fire of Aūharmazd (MX liii, 8).

Hvarə's only Avestan epithets, apart from *xšaēta*- ('shining', whence the usual Modern Persian word for 'sun', *xuršīd*), are *aməša*- ('immortal') and *raēva*- ('radiant'), which are exclusively his; and *aurvat-aspa*- ('possessing swift horses'), which he shares with Apām Napāt.

One of the chief Old Persian deities was Ἡλῖος (Herodotus, i, 131; Strabo, p. 732; cf. Evander [toward the end of the third century B.C.] as cited by Zenobius, Ἐπιτομὴ ἐκ τῶν Τερπίων καὶ Διδύμων προοιμιῶν, v, 78; Aristides [in the reign of Antoninus Pius], *Apologia*, vi, 1), to whom prayer was made by Xerxes (Herodotus, vii, 54), Miθra and Fire often being conjoined with him in invocation (Curtius Rufus, IV, xiii, 12; cf. xiv, 24). He had sacred horses (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, v, 35; Curtius Rufus, III, iii, 11; Ovid, *Fasti*, i, 385-6; Justin, I, x, 5; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, i, 31) and a chariot (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII, iii, 12; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, xxxvi, 39); while

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonnell, *Mythology*, pp. 23, 30; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 96, 104. For the Iranian deity see Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 126-7, 241; and for traces of solar cult in Armenia cf. Abeghian, *Volks Glaube*, pp. 41-7; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 47, 49-52; Aharonian, *Croyances*, pp. 36-41.

Flavius Vopiscus (*Aurelianus*, v, 5) even speaks of a temple and of a royal priestess of the Sun. It was forbidden to expose the person before sun or moon (Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, vi, 69), and 'white leprosy' was regarded as punishment for sin against the sun (Herodotus, i, 138). Procopius (*De bello Persico*, I, iii, 20) alludes to worship of the rising sun, which was one of the principal requirements laid upon Christian martyrs (Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, ix, 5; x, 3).<sup>1</sup>

Hvara, whose Sanskrit etymological equivalent is *svār*- ('sun'), finds his Indian counterpart in the Vedic *Sūrya*,<sup>2</sup> and the cult of the sun-god was once clearly of great importance in India,<sup>3</sup> where, at a later period, the Iranian cult was introduced,<sup>4</sup> the belief that the sun-god healed leprosy even forming the traditional motive for the composition of Mayūra's *Sūryasataka*.<sup>5</sup>

The sun was one of the principal objects of Scythian worship under the name *Οἰόσσυρος* (Herodotus, iv, 59) or, as Hesychius writes it, *Γουόσσυρος*, perhaps for *\*γουόσσυρος* <sup>6</sup>, to which may be added the variants *Οἰόσσυρος* in manuscripts of Herodotus and *Τογγόσσυρος* in Origen (*Contra Celsum*, vi, 39).<sup>7</sup> The meaning is wholly uncertain. Marquart<sup>8</sup> explains it as for *gaēšā-sūra*-,

<sup>1</sup> See also Delehayé, *Actes*, pp. 23, 24, 27, 29, 37, 42, 47, 48, 49, 51<sup>r</sup> 52, 57, 58, 64, 75, 82, 85, 86, 89, 90, 95, 96, 98, 99, 113; Hoffmann, *Auszüge* pp. 24, 29, 51, 53, 75, 88; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 1, 2, 22, 27, 30, 42, 66, 67<sup>r</sup> 94, 100, 101, 111, 118, 142, 152, 167, 170, 182.

<sup>2</sup> See Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 30-2; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>3</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* Strasbourg, 1913, pp. 151-3.

<sup>4</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* Strasbourg, 1913, pp. 153-5; cf. also A. Weber, 'Über die Magavyakti des Krishnadāsa Miçra', in *SBAW* 1879, pp. 446-88, and 'Über zwei Parteischriften zu Gunsten der Mages, resp. Čākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇa', ib. 1880, pp. 27-78; T. Bloch, 'Eine indische Version der iranischen Sage von Sām', in *ZdmG* lxiv (1910), 733-8; E. W. Clark, 'Śākadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa', in *JAOS* xxxix (1919), 209-42; W. Kiefel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn, 1920, pp. 101, 103, 114, 120, 130.

<sup>5</sup> G. P. Quackenbos, *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*, New York, 1917, pp. 23-4, 26-7, 29-30, 31-2, 35-8.

<sup>6</sup> For initial  $\gamma = f$  in Hesychius see G. Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*,<sup>3</sup> Leipzig, 1896, pp. 314-5; G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, do., 1892, pp. 116-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Philologus*, Supplementband x (1905), 90.

<sup>8</sup> An inscription purporting to have been found in Italy to  $\Sigma[\epsilon]\lambda[\eta\nu\eta]$  *Οἰτοσκύρα καὶ Ἀπόλλων[ι]* *Οἰτοσκύρα* is regarded as spurious (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, xiv [Berlin, 1890], 114\*). For the relation of Hvara to Xvarenah both etymologically and mythologically see below, p. 123.

‘herd-mighty’; assuming an initial *ṛ*, it might conceivably be connected with the obscure Sanskrit *vṛtana-* (if for *\*voito-no-*), ‘reward’, so that the god would be ‘reward-mighty’; or if it really began with *O*, one might possibly combine it with Avestan *āēta-*, ‘shining’, and *sūra-*, ‘mighty’. Obviously no conclusion can be reached with the material at hand.

### Section J.

#### MĀH.

Māh (‘Moon’), the lunar god, is celebrated in the seventh Yašt, which is practically identical with the third Nyāišn; but the only important statement which it contains is that he is the abode of the Amāša Spēntas, who thence ‘apportion glory to the earth created by Ahura’ (Yt. vii, 3=Ny. iii, 5). The Pahlavi gloss on Ny. iii, 1, states that Māh is formed from Vohūman, and from Māh Gōšūrun is shaped; and also (§ 4) that the waxing moon ‘accepts deeds and merit of the earthly beings, and the reward and recompense of the heavenly beings’, while in its waning ‘it consigns the deeds and merit to the heavenly beings, and reward and recompense to the earthly beings’, adding (§ 7) that the epithet *īštavant-* (‘wealth-possessing’) means that ‘it gives fecundity to cattle’, and *saokavant-* (‘advantageous’) that ‘it gives fruition to water-plants’.

Māh is frequently mentioned in lists of celestial divinities (Ys. i, 11, 16; ii, 11; cf. xvi, 4; lxxi, 9; G. iii, 6; Yt. x, 145; xii 33; Sīr. i, 12; ii, 12). Like sun and stars he goes in his path through the glory of the Fravašis, who have revealed this road (Yt. xiii, 16, 57); with these celestial bodies he speeds the righteous soul on its way to paradise (Vd. vii, 52); and he rises above Haraiti on the path created by Mazda, in the place appointed by the divinities (Vd. xxi, 9). He presides over the twelfth day of the month (Sīr. i, 12; ii, 12; SIS xxii, 12; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

In the Pahlavi texts repentance must be made before the Sun and Mitrō, the Moon and the Fire of Aūharmazd (MX liii, 8); and Māh grants an assistant to champions, being himself a noteworthy protector (SIS xxii, 12; xxiii, 2). Weal is transmitted by Mitrō, aided by Sōk, from the world on high through Māh to Arēdvīvsūr, who delivers it to heaven (*spīhr*), and so to earth (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13). The right eye of the sacrificial victim is Māh’s portion (SIS xi, 4), but he is injured by the gaze of a menstruous woman (AVN lxxii, 6).

The chief Avestan epithets peculiar to Māh are *afnahvant-* ('rich in possessions'), *ištavant-* ('wealth-possessing'), *gaočibra-* ('possessing the seed of the kine'), *baēšaza-* ('healing'), *saokavant-* ('advantageous'), and *zairimyāvant-* ('possessing [fixed] abode'); with Tištrya, Miθra, and Xvarənah he shares *yaoxštivant-* ('skilful'), and *varəcəhvant-* ('energetic') with Tištrya and Xvarənah.

In Old Persian proper names Māh(i) forms a component in *Mzdārzs* or *Mzidārzs* ('Given [or, Created] by Māh') as well as in the Thracian *Μησιάδης* ('Mighty through Māh').<sup>1</sup> other theophorous appellations of interest in this connexion being *Māhāfrīd* ('Blessing of Māh'), *Māhbācāi* ('Possessing the Arm of Māh'), *Māhbōδ* ('Having One's Mind on Māh'), *Māhduxtī* ('Daughter [Given by] Māh'),<sup>2</sup> *Māhyār* ('Friend of Māh'), *Māhmāt* ('Wise through Māh'), *Māhpanāh* ('Protected by Māh'; cf. *Μηφάτης*), *Māhsād* ('Rejoicing in Māh'), *Māhvin-dāt* ('Found by Māh'), *Μηβουζάνης* ('Having Salvation through Māh') and *Μηίφρυγος* ('Having Fortune through Māh').<sup>3</sup>

Herodotus states (i. 131) that the moon was one of the chief objects of Persian worship (cf. Strabo, p. 732; Evander, cited by Zenobius, *Ἐπιτομή ἐκ τῶν Τερροζίων καὶ Διδύμων προφητῶν*, v, 78; Aristides, *Apologia*, vi, 3; Epiphanius, *Expositio fidei*, 13); and his adoration was occasionally required of Christian martyrs,<sup>4</sup> especially as he was considered a son of Hōrmīzd.<sup>5</sup> In Mithraism the moon was identified with Selene-Luna;<sup>6</sup> and on Indo-Scythian coins he appears, under the name MAO(O), as a diademed male deity facing left, wearing chiton and himation, and girded with a sword, with a crescent behind his shoulders, and with his right hand advanced, while in his left is a long sceptre with a pendent banderole.<sup>7</sup> He may likewise be the MANOBAFO of Huviška's coins, where he is represented as a

<sup>1</sup> For the second component see Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 215-6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Aramaic forms *Mahdūx* and *Maiduxt* (Montgomery, *Incantation*, xii, 11; xiv, 2; xvi, 3; xxxv, 2).

<sup>3</sup> See Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 184-8.

<sup>4</sup> Delehay, *Actes*, pp. 57, 82; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 24, 29, 88; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 28, 111.

<sup>5</sup> Braun, *Akten*, pp. 66, 67, 152, 167.

<sup>6</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 121 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 3 and fig. iv; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 196, 202, 208; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 145.

four-armed divinity facing left, with a crescent on his shoulders.<sup>1</sup> He also figures as a god (*yazd*) in Manichaeism.<sup>2</sup>

In the Rig Veda there is no specific moon-deity corresponding to the Iranian Māh, but from the Atharva Veda (I. iii. 4; II. xxii; IV. xxxix 7; V. xxiv, 10; VI. lxxxiii, 1; VIII. ii. 15; XIX. xix, 4; xxvii, 5; xliii, 4) onward Candara or Candramās is worshipped as the moon. In Armenia Valarsak, the founder of the Arsakid dynasty, built a temple at Armavir, adorning it with images of the sun and moon, as well as of his ancestors;<sup>3</sup> and traces of lunar cult survive among the modern Armenians;<sup>4</sup> while other instances of divinities of the moon are found in the Roman Luna and in the Lithuanian Mėnuo.<sup>5</sup>

### Section K.

#### MIΘRA.

After the masterly study of the *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* by M. Franz Cumont it might seem almost presumptuous to discuss this deity;<sup>6</sup> yet a renewed and independent investigation of the Avestan evidence and of some material which has become available since M. Cumont's work appears not merely further to elucidate the subject, but to give additional depth and confirmation to his conclusions.

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 12 and fig. xix; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 201; Hoffmann (*Auszüge*, p. 148), however, considers this deity to be Manō Vohu, while T. Bloch (in *ZdmG* lxiv [1910], 742-3) regards him as \*Manahō Bayō, 'God of the (Pious) Mind', and identifies him with Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 17, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Moses of Khoren, ii, 8, 12, 14, 40, 77.

<sup>4</sup> Abeghian, *Volks Glaube*, pp. 45-9; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 47-8; 51-2; Aharonian, *Croyances*, pp. 41-2.

<sup>5</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 315-7; Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 95-6. Brückner, *Mitologia*, pp. 154-5, interprets the pagan Russian Chorsū as the moon.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. Meillet, 'Le Dieu indo-iranien Mitra', in *J.A.* X, i (1907), 143-59; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 103-11; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 62-7, 72, 77, 139-41, 150-1, 427-8; Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 240-9, Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 109-10; H. S. Jones, 'Mithraism', in *ERE* viii, 752-9; Legge, *Forerunners*, ch. xii, 'The Worship of Mithras' (ii, 224-76); Pettazzoni, *Misteri*, pp. 220-81 ('Misteri persiani'); L. H. Gray, 'Deux étymologies mithriaques', in *Le Muséon*, 1915, pp. 189-92. For the Indian Mitra see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 29-30; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 53-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 96-8, 103-4. Of older studies reference may still be made to F. Windischmann, *Mithra*, Leipzig, 1857; A. Eggers, *Der arische (indo-iranische) Gott Mitra*, Dorpat, 1894.

Miθra ( ' Sun ' ) is celebrated at length in the tenth Yašt (cf. also Ny. ii). He was created by Ahura Mazda equal with the ' Wise Lord ' himself (Yt. x, 1);<sup>1</sup> he is accompanied by Vāta and Dāmōiš Upamana ( § 9 ) or by Aši, Pārēndi, Hām-varēti, Kavaēm Xvarēnah, ǝwāša, Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Fravašis ( § 66 ); on his right is Sraoša, on his left is Rašnu, and around him are Waters, Plants, and the Fravašis ( § 100 ); when he goes forth to battle Rašnu is on his right, Čistā and Daēnayā Upamana are on his Left, while Dāmōiš Upamana (in his boar form), Kavaēm Xvarēnah, and Ātar likewise attend him ( §§ 126-127 ). He is associated with Rašnu and Sraoša ( § 41 ) or with Sraoša and Nairyō-saŋha ( § 52 ). He has received his dwelling from Rašnu ( §§ 79, 81 ); he makes appeal to Ahura Mazda ( §§ 53-6, 73-4 ), by whom he is honoured ( § 123 ) and appointed to guard the good creation ( § 103 ); and Haoma offers sacrifice to him ( §§ 83-90 ). Miθra possesses horses and a chariot ( §§ 76, 124-32, 136 ), the latter, star-adorned and spirit-made, being fashioned by Spenta Mainyu ( § 143 ), and guided by Bāmyā ( § 143 ) or by Aši ( § 68 ). His paths were prepared by Daēnā ; he is sped on his way by Dāmōiš Upamana ( § 68 ); he is preceded by Vərəθraŋna in boar form ( §§ 70-2 ); and it was he who created the bonds between men ( §§ 116-7 ).

Elsewhere in the Younger Avesta Miθra is named in connexion with Rašnu ( Vd. iv, 54-5 ); with Rašnu and Daēnā ( VYt. 52 ); with Ahura Mazda, Rašnu, and Ārmaiti ( Yt. xiii, 3 ); and very frequently with Rāman. With Vərəθraŋna and Rašnu he goes to and fro between the opposing armies ( Yt. xiv, 47 ), and fellowship (*haxōðra-*) with him is the best of all fellowships in the wide space between sun and moon ( Ny. i, 15 ; Yt. vi, 5 ). A sacrifice to Aši is equivalent to one to him ( Yt. xvii, 2 ); and she, like Daēnā, is his sister, while Sraoša and Rašnu are his brothers, all being children of Ahura Mazda and Ārmaiti ( Yt. xvii, 16 ). When he is said to have a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes ( Ys. i, 3, etc. ), the Pahlavi gloss of Ys. i, 3, explains this as meaning that ' five hundred spirits sit upon his head and do a thousand of the work of his ear...and five thousand spirits sit upon his head '.

The epithets of Miθra are more numerous and distinctive than those of any other deity in the Iranian pantheon, being an even hundred, or two more than those of Ahura Mazda, including the latter's list of seventy-four names. Of those pecu-

<sup>1</sup> In their reply to the edict of Mihrnerseh, on the contrary, the Christian bishops declared that Mihr was born of a human mother and, in fact, of incestuous relations with his own mother (Elisaeus, ii).

liar to him the most noteworthy are *ayrya-* ('foremost') *aḍao yamna-* ('undeceivable'), *aḍairi-dahyu-*, *antarə-dahyu-*, *aipi-dahyu-*, *aiwi-dahyu-*, *ādahyu-*, *upairi-dahyu-*, *pairi-dahyu-* ('[dwelling] beneath, within, behind, round about, and above the country'), *anaiwi-druxta-* ('undeceived'), *auruša-* ('white'), *aurušaṣpa-* ('possessing white horses'), *arš-vačah-* ('possessing right words'), *aštraŋhād-* ('guiding by the goad'), *āzuiti-dā-* ('giving fatness'), *uparō-nmāna-* ('possessing a house on high'), *karšō-razah-* ('[giving] laws to the furrow'), *xšaθro-dā-* ('kingdom-giving'), *xšvivi-išu-* ('possessing swift arrows'),<sup>1</sup> *gayō-dā-* ('life-giving'), *darəya-arštaya-* ('possessing a long spear'), *parō-kvid-* ('far-reaching'), *pubrō-da-* ('son-giving'), *parəbu-vaēdayana-* ('possessing a broad look-out'), *fraxšti-dā-* ('giving fulness'), *frat-āp-* ('water-filling'), *baēvarə-čašman-* ('possessing ten thousand eyes'), *baēvarə-spasana-* ('possessing ten thousand spies'), *vasō-gayoyaoiti-* ('possessing fields at pleasure'), *vahmō-səndah-* ('prayer-fulfilling'), *vaəwō-dā-* ('herd-giving'), *vindaṭ-spāda-* ('army-finding'), *vouru-gaoyaoiti-* ('possessing wide pastures'), *spas-* ('watcher'), *sruṭ-gaosa-* ('possessing a hearing ear'), *zaēnahvant-* ('watchful'), *hazaŋra-gaoša-* ('possessing a thousand ears'), *hurāhya-* ('possessing a good chariot'), *huzaēna-* ('possessing good weapons'), *hvaspa-* ('possessing good horses'). Among the epithets which Miθra shares with other divinities the following may be mentioned: *ahura-* ('lord') with Apəm Napāt and Ahura Mazda; *anāhita-* ('undefiled') with 'Arədvī' and Haoma; *aḍaoya-* ('undeceivable'), *arəfna-* ('sleepless'), *xšayant-* ('ruling'), and *vispō-vīdvant-* ('all-knowing') with Ahura Mazda; *vyāzana-* ('eloquent') with Ātar and Nairyō-saŋha; *aostō-nāman-* ('whose name is spoken') with Ātar, Vanant, and Sraoša; *raβaēšlar-* ('warrior') with Ātar and Sraoša; *xšayamna-* ('ruling'), *rāma-šayana-* ('possessing a peaceful abode'), and *hušayana-* ('possessing a good abode') with Tištrya; *hazaŋra-yaoxšti-* ('possessing a thousand faculties') with Dahāka (!); *aredra-* ('true') and *gufra-* ('deep, mysterious') with the Fravašis; *uxšaṭ-urvara-* ('plant-increasing'), *taṭ-āp-* ('possessing falling water'), and *zavanō-srūt-* ('summons-hearing') with Sata-vaēsa; *tanu-maθra-* ('whose body is the Spell') with Sraoša; *daivhu-paiti-* and *vīspaiti-* ('lord of the land' and 'of the village') with Haoma; and *arəfnya-* ('sleepless') and *jaγāur-vaḥ-* ('alert') with Ham-varəti.

In the Pahlavi texts Miθrō, aided by Sōk, transmits weal from the world on high through Māh to Arədvīvsūr, who passes

<sup>1</sup> In Mithraic art Miθra is occasionally represented with a bow and quiver (Cumont, *TM* i, 183; cf. ii, 211 [with fig. 38], 231).

it to heaven (*spīhr*), and so to earth (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13); and assisted by Sōk, he rules the world with justice (ib. §§21, 22). He keeps daily record of man's thoughts, words, and deeds concerning others (DD xiv, 2-5); with Rašn he makes up the soul's account and reckoning at the Činvaṭ Bridge (SD i, 4; xviii, 16; c, 2); and the pair, together with Srōš, are present the final judgement (MX ii, 118-20; cf. Dk. IX, xxxix, 9, 10 16). Repentance must be made before Mitrō and the Sun, the Moon and the Fire of Aūharmazd (MX liii, 8). Mitrō is associated with Rām (Dk. IX, ix, 7); Aštāt (ib. IX, xx, 4); and with Rašn, Vahrām, Vāi, Aštāt, and Dīn (AVN v, 3); and he is also mentioned together with Vohūman and Srōš (Dk. IX, xxviii, 3), as well as with Srōš, Rašn, Vahrām, Aštāt, and the Xvarənah of the Mazdayasnian Religion (BYt. iii, 32). He is the judge of the righteous and is distinguished for his judicial powers (SIS xxii, 16; xxiii, 3).

According to the Turfān fragments Miθra is, furthermore, 'a liberator and benefactor' (בִּנְיָתָר אֶדֶר לְחַבְבָּר); he is associated with Frēdōn and all the angels; he comes from the west, clothed in wind, water, and fire; and he is a son of God.<sup>1</sup>

The Mithraic monuments<sup>2</sup> show a very decided preference for the epithet *invictus* (thrice with the Greek equivalent ἀνείκητος); but Miθra is also δίκσιος (cf. *arədra*, 'true') or δοσιος καὶ δίκσιος; ἐπηκοος (cf. *vahmō-səndah*-, 'prayer-fulfilling'; *srutgaōša*-, 'possessing a hearing ear'; *zavanō-srūt*-, 'summons-hearing'; *zavanō-svan*-, 'hearing at summons'; and *hazara-ra-gaoša*-, 'possessing a thousand ears'); *genitor* (cf. *āzuiti-dā*-, 'giving fatness'; *uxsat-urvara*-, 'plant-increasing'; *gayō-dā*-, 'life-giving'; *puθrō-dā*-, 'son-giving'; *fraxšti-dā*-, 'giving fulness'; and *vaθwō-dā*-, 'herd-giving'), *incorruptus* (cf. *anā-hita*-, 'undefiled'); *indeprehensibilis* (cf. *gufra*-, 'deep, mysterious'); *insuperabilis* (cf. *amibwa*-, 'incomparable'); and *summus* (cf. *ayrya*-, 'foremost'; *brəzant*-, 'high'; *mazišta*-, 'most great'). He likewise has the name Navarze or Nabarze, which the present writer<sup>3</sup> has explained as standing for \*Nava-varz- ('Making Anew'), comparing it with Mithra's epithet *salutaris*.

The association of Miθra with kine and agriculture is implied by his Avestan epithets *aštraθhād*- ('guiding by the

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 20, 39, 55; cf. also pp. 18, 77; Le Coq, *Manichaica*, ii, 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the epithets collected by Cumont, *T.M.* ii, 532-3.

<sup>3</sup> In *Le Muséon*, 1915, p. 191-2. A fantastic etymology (\*Māhi-brzāna) is proposed by G. Hüsing, *Die iranische Uebertlieferung und das arische System*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 21.



goad'), *karšō-razah-* ('[giving] laws to the furrow'), *vasō-gaoyaoili-* ('possessing fields at pleasure'), *vouru-gaoyaoili-* ('possessing wide pastures'), and *vaθwō-dā-* ('herd-giving'). His association with the celestial ox which, combined with the earthly sacrifice of oxen in his honour, apparently gave rise to the myth of the tauroctonous Mithra, has already been discussed.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of the epithet *gufra-* ('deep, mysterious'), which Miθra shares with the Fravašis, and of his 'fellowship' (*haṣādra-*), one may suggest that the confraternities found in historic Mithraism<sup>2</sup> existed in the Iranian period; and in the epithet *aoxtō-nāman-* ('whose name is spoken'), used often of him and only rarely of Ātar, Vanant, and Sraoša, one may perhaps see an allusion to his return from the banishment pronounced upon him in the Gāthās: he might now appear in his true form, and his own name might now be uttered, so that he need no longer be disguised as Vohu Manah.<sup>3</sup>

Although Miθra is formally mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions only by Artaxerxes II and III in association with Auramazdā and Anāhita (Art. Sus. a, 4-5 [Babylonian and Elamitic]; Ham. 5-6) or with Auramazdā alone (Art. Pers. a, 25; b, 33) —of which an echo may be found in the command of Chosroes II that the Christians should worship 'Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana'<sup>4</sup>—his popularity in this period is shown by such personal names as *Μιθροβζιος*, *Μιθροβζοζάνης*, *Μιθροβάρης*, *Μιθροβουζάνης*, *Μιθραδάρης*, *Μιθραφέργης* (cf. Mitrafarrē ['Possessing the Glory of (or through) Miθra'] in the Paikūli inscription),<sup>5</sup> *Μιθραζιος*, *Μιθρήνης*, *Μιθρόαξος*, *Μιθροπαύτης*, *Μιθραύτης*, *Ἰεζμύτης*, *Ῥεομύτης*, *Σιρομύτης*, *Σειομύτης*, and *Σουρζμύτης*.<sup>6</sup> In Babylonian documents of this epoch we find the names Mitirryadada or Mitradāti (cf. מִתְרַת in the Elephantine Aramaic papyri xxvii 2, 7; xc, 7),<sup>7</sup> Mitrātu, and Mitraen (cf. *Μιθρήνης*),<sup>8</sup> and מִתְרַסְרָה (\*Miθra- sāra-, 'Having Miθra

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 81-2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 50-1, 326-8, and see above, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 35-7.

<sup>4</sup> *AS* V Jun. 166.

<sup>5</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 83.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 208-17, 143, 260, 303, 318, 503, and especially Cumont, *TM* ii, 76-85.

<sup>7</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, pp. 89, 190.

<sup>8</sup> Clay, *Documents*, p. 28; *Artaxerxes*, p. 63; *Darius*, p. 55.

as Head')<sup>1</sup> Other names of interest are Artamitra ('True Miθra'),<sup>2</sup> Mitradastā ('Possessing the Hand of Miθra' [?]),<sup>3</sup> the Armenian Mehrevandak ('Servant of Miθra'), Mehružan ('Mighty through Miθra'), etc.,<sup>4</sup> Mihrhornizd (מִיְהֹרְנִיזְד) on an Aramaic incantation-bowl; <sup>5</sup> Mehrūdan ('Knowing Miθra') on a similar Mandaean bowl; <sup>6</sup> Miθravahišt (מִיְתְּרוֹוִיֶשֶׁת, 'Miθra is best') in an Aramaic papyrus from Egypt; <sup>7</sup> and Mihrjān in the *Arabian Nights*.<sup>8</sup>

The name Μιθραγάθης, the leader of the Lydians at Salamis (Æschylus, *Persae*, 43), is particularly interesting as showing that the Persians of the Achaemenian period honoured Miθra by Gāθās.<sup>9</sup> His importance at this time is further indicated by the name of the seventh month of the Old Persian calendar, Bāgayādi ('God-Worship'; Bh. i, 55), which recurs in the Sogdian Fayāz, Bayakānj,<sup>10</sup> and which is equivalent to the Avestan month Miθra (Āfr. iii, 10; Bd. xxv, 20), the Cappadocian Μιθρι and its variants, and the Armenian Mehekan.<sup>11</sup> He likewise presided over the sixteenth day of each Avestan month (Sir. i, 16; ii, 16; SIS xxii, 16; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24) and over the eighth day of each Armenian month; and it should especially be noted that in both the Iranian year and month he ruled the commencement of the second half. In Persia, then, Miθra was regarded as the 'god' (βαγα-) κzt' εζοχην.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, E (=13), 18 (pp. 38, 40).

<sup>2</sup> De Morgan, *Numismatique*, p. 306; F. Parruck *Sāsānian Coins*, Bombay, 1924, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> E. Littmann, *Lydian Inscriptions*, Leyden, 1916, pp. 84, 85.

<sup>4</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 52-4.

<sup>5</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, xxxiv, 1; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 216.

<sup>6</sup> Pognon, *Coupes*, no. 17; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 205. Boccaccio (*Decameron*, X, iii) records the name Mithridanes as that of a Levantine.

<sup>7</sup> CIS II, i, 144; Cowley, *Papyri*, lxx, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Tr. Payne, v, 156-8; tr. Burton, vi, 123-9, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 213.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Birūni, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, pp. 56, 82; F. W. K. Müller, in *SBAW* 1907, p. 465.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *JAOS* xxviii (1907), 338.

<sup>12</sup> F. Justi, in *ZdmG* li (1897), 247; Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 952-3; cf. also J. Marquart, in *Philologus*, lv (1896), 232-3, and Supplementband x (1905), 129, 132-4, although these latter passages should be used with caution.

A portion of south-western Media was called Mihrjān-gaḍaq as late as the Middle Ages ;<sup>1</sup> Mihrjān and Mihrābād appear on modern maps of Persia ;<sup>2</sup> and a village named Mihr, as well as a Kūh-i-Mihr and an Āb-i-Mihr, lies between Miāndašt and Sabzavar.<sup>3</sup>

In Mithraism Miθra was, Plutarch says (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46), termed *Μεσίτης* ('Mediator') as being the deity of the region intermediate between sky and earth.<sup>4</sup> We have just seen that in the Iranian year and month his place was half-way between the beginning and the end ; and on Mithraic monuments he seems to represent the noonday sun.<sup>5</sup> It may be suggested, moreover, that before the transformation of 'Aṇra Mainyu' from an earth-god and underworld-deity into a devil<sup>6</sup> there was a triad of 'Ahura Mazda' (sky), Miθra (sun as symbolical of the intermediate space), and 'Aṇra Mainyu' (earth).

Classical writers frequently mention Miθra. Oaths were sworn by him (Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, iv, 24 ; *Cyropaedia*, VII, v, 53 ; Plutarch, *Vita Artaxerxis*, 4 ; *Vita Alexandri*, 30 ; Ælian, *Varia historia*, i, 33 ; Claudian, *De consulatu Stilichonis*, i, 63) ; he had a sacred chariot (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, v, 35 ; *Cyropaedia*, VIII, iii, 12 ; Curtius Rufus, III, iii, 11 ; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, xxxvi, 39-48 ; cf. Herodotus, viii, 40) ; and appeal was made to him for victory (Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 34). An ox was sacrificed on the altar of the Sun (Pseudo-Plutarch, cited by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii, 63) ; and Miθra was equated with the Sun (Proclus, *Paraphrasis in Ptolomaeum*, ii, 3) or with Apollo (Pseudo-Clemens, *Homiliae*, vi, 10 ; *Acta Sanctorum*, V Jun., 166) or even with Hephaistos (Scholion on Lucian, *Jupiter tragicus*, 8).<sup>7</sup> He was probably the 'Ἥλιος to whom, with 'Zeus and the other gods', Cyrus made offering (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII, vii, 3), though the two are elsewhere differentiated (Curtius Rufus, II, xiii, 12 ; Evander, quoted by Zenobius, *Ἐπιτομή ἐκ τῶν Τραπζέλον καὶ Διδύμων παροιμιῶν*, v, 78 ; cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes, i, 36). His festival was renown-

<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 20 ; Schwarz, *Iran*, pp. 470-3 ; Le Strange, *Caliphate*, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Map in Sykes, *History*, 7, 1 ; 4, n ; International Millionth Map, North H—39 (Bushire), xi, b.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, *Constantinople*, pp. 214-6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 303, 306-7 ; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 157-8 ; Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 122-3 ; Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 249.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 209.

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 178-9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 98, 104, 146, 199-200 ; ii, 23.

ed (Duris [after 281 B.C.], cited by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, x, 45; Strabo, p. 530), and gave its name to the Armenian month Mehekan already mentioned;<sup>1</sup> while the divinity's appellation was probably the origin of the Armenian *mehean*, 'pagan temple, heathen altar, idol'.<sup>2</sup> In the inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene at Nimrūd Dāy Miθra is identified with Apollo-Helios-Hermes;<sup>3</sup> and on Indo-Scythian coins he appears, under the form MIPO or MIOPO as a sun-god.<sup>4</sup> In Armenia Mihr, 'whom they called son of Aramazd' (Greek version, 'Ἡφαιστου λεγομένου υἱοῦ τοῦ Διός'), had a temple at Bagayaričn (or Bagayarinj), the modern Pekarich, four hours north of Mamakhatun.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest mention of Miθra is almost universally held to be the *mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* (*ilāni*) of the Boyaz-kōi documents, dating from the middle of the second millennium B.C., where he is named in association with *a-ru-na-aš-ši-el* (*ilu*), who is commonly supposed to be Varuṇa, although doubts have been cast upon this view.<sup>6</sup>

The etymology of the Avestan Miθra-, Sanskrit Mitrá-, is a matter of much dispute. Besides its use as a divine name, the word in Sanskrit means as a masculine 'companion, friend, sun', and as a neuter 'friendship, friend'; while in Avestan it denotes 'contract, agreement'. From these earlier connotations come, on the one hand, Pāli *mitta*-, 'friend', Jaina Prākṛit *mitta*-, 'friend, sun', and, on the other hand, Modern Persian *mihr*, 'sun, friendship'. Unless one is to assume homonyms, of which there seems to be no need here, the problem is to find a base from which the meanings 'compact', 'friend', and 'sun' may be derived by a natural and unstrained semantic development.

<sup>1</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 53, 194; for the feast see L. H. Gray, in *ERE* v, 872-3, and for its connexion ib. pp. 874-5.

<sup>2</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 194; A. Meillet, in *REA* i (1921), 233-4.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 131; ii, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 2-3 and figs. i, ii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 196-7, 202-3, 208.

<sup>5</sup> Agathangelus, I, cx, 134; cf. Cumont, *TM* ii, 4; Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, p. 103; A. Carrière, *Les huit Sanctuaires de l'Arménie païenne*, Paris, 1899, pp. 12, 16, 19; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 287; Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor*, London, 1895, p. 253. For the Armenian Mihr in general see Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 33-5.

<sup>6</sup> W. E. Clark, 'The Alleged Indo-Iranian Names in Cuneiform Inscriptions', in *AJS* xxxiii (1917), 261-82 (in the present connexion especially pp. 278-9).

Of the various etymologies which have been proposed<sup>1</sup> the most plausible seems to be one which derives the word from \**mi-trá-*, i.e., from the zero-grade of the Indo-European base \**mē-*, 'to measure', so that \**mītrá-* would represent an original \**mā-tró-* (cf. Sanskrit *mītá-*, 'measured', Albanian *matë*, 'measure') the full-grade of the same base appearing in Sanskrit *mātra-*, 'measure', Greek *μῆτρος*, 'wisdom, craft' (cf. Sanskrit *māti-*, 'measure, exact knowledge', Albanian *mot*, 'year, temperature', Anglo-Saxon *maēþ*, 'measure, degree, proportion'), etc. It is impossible, however, to compare *mītrá-* directly with Greek *μέτρον* 'measure', because of the latter's accent, which, were the connexion justified, should be \**μετρόν*. Hence *μέτρον* is, rather, for \**μεδ-τρον* and is connected with Greek *μέδομαι*, 'to provide for, think upon', etc., so that the base \**mēde-* is in origin an enlargement of the base \**mē-*, the words thus being actually, though remotely, akin.<sup>2</sup>

The Sanskrit *mītrām* (neuter) probably survives in the Prākṛit *mīṭṭa-*, *mēṭṭa-*, 'measure'.<sup>3</sup> This neuter *mītrām* is doubtless earlier than the masculine *mītrás*; but changes of *-tro-* formations from neuters to masculine through concretising and personification are frequent in the Indo-European languages, and Brugmann expressly cites this word as one of many.<sup>4</sup>

It would appear that from *mītrām*, originally meaning 'measurement', was developed *mītrás*, 'measurer', apotheosised as Mitrás-Mītrah, the 'Measurer' of (a) the day (i.e. the sun) and (b) of (right) relations between men (i.e., the deity of compacts, and hence of justice and friendship). The present writer is, therefore, strongly inclined to regard Mitrás-Mītrah as primarily a solar deity whose special function was measuring the day; and to hold that, as in the case of the Vedic Varuṇa, the ethical

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam, 1899, p. 223; H. Reichelt, in *KZ* xxxix (1906), 10; Brugmann, *Grundriss*, i, 635; Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 30 (cancelled by *Handbuch*, pp. 192, 359, and *Vokalismus*, pp. 36, 73-4); F. de Saussure, in *MSL* vi (1889), 248 = *Recueil de publications scientifiques*, Geneva, 1922, pp. 422-3; A. Meillet, in *JA* X, i (1907), 143-59; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 241.

<sup>2</sup> For further cognates of the entire group see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 618-9, 630-1, 635; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 471-2, 482, 489-90 Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 273-4; Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 50, 54. Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 237-8, 259-60; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 259-60, 263, 266, 270.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Strasbourg, 1900, p. 91 (where, however, the vocalism is incorrectly explained).

<sup>4</sup> *Grundriss*, II, i, 345; for the whole subject see ib. pp. 339-47.

aspects of the divinity were developed after his physical character had become fixed.<sup>1</sup>

Mitrás-Miśrah as the sun, the 'measurer' of the day, finds a distant relative in the Sanskrit *mās-*, Avestan *māh-*, Greek *μήν*, Gothic *mēna*, Lithuanian *mēnuo*, and Old Church Slavic *māsęci* 'moon', from a base *\*mēn(e)s-*, also developed ultimately from *\*mē-*, 'to measure.'<sup>2</sup> The names of the two great luminaries, sun and moon, accordingly both come, in the last analysis, from a common base meaning 'to measure', as do such time-words as Armenian *amis*, Latin *mensis*, Old Irish *mí* 'month', Albanian *mot*, 'year', *muai*, 'month', and Lithuanian *mėtas*, 'year'.

The view has already been advanced in these pages<sup>3</sup> that Miśra was disguised as the Aməša Spənta Vohu Manah; but it seems possible to go even further. It would appear that the cult of Miśra was very extensively developed at a much earlier period than is generally supposed, and that Mithraic confraternities and Miśra's association with the ox were of great antiquity. From a survey of all the evidence he would seem to have been at one time the most important deity of the entire pantheon, though later obscured by the rise of Ahura Mazda. One may with some reason advance the theory that Miśra was primarily the chief god of south-western Iran, while Ahura Mazda held a like pre-eminence in the northern part of the plateau.<sup>4</sup>

If the hypothesis here proposed be valid, the Mithraic cult, so profoundly investigated by M. Cumont, takes on a still deeper significance. It was not due merely to the intensely ethical attributes of the sun-god, but in even greater measure to the continuance, the development, and the extension of a peculiar type of Iranism, centred in Persis, fostered to the north and

<sup>1</sup> The writer cannot accept the view of M. Meillet (*loc. cit.*), who regards the base of *mitrā-* as *\*mei-*, 'to exchange' and who connects Varuṇa with Sanskrit *vratá-*, 'divine will, law', whereas the writer associates it rather with the group of Sanskrit *vār(i)-*, 'water' (see above, p. 26). Meillet accordingly considers the ethical aspects of the two deities to be the earlier, and their celestial identifications to be the later stages of their development.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 633; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 477; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 271-2; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, p. 267 (doubts as to the etymology currently accepted); Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 51.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 35-7.

<sup>4</sup> Tiele (*Religion*, ii, 213, note 2, 241) regarded Miśra as 'the national god of the Medo-Persians'; Huart (*Perse*, p. 98), on the other hand, held that he was introduced into the Achaemenian cult at the end of the fifth century B.C.

west by the Achaemenian Empire, and carried to Europe by the Roman conquests. Toward the east and north-east, on the contrary, it was checked by the Mazdayasnian form of Iranism which finally became dominant in all Iran, thus constituting an added factor in the expulsion of Mithraism, as a distinct cult and religion, from its home-land to foreign soil, where it renewed the ever-unsuccessful battle of the Orient against the Occident. This is merely an hypothesis, it is true, but one which seems to merit some degree of serious consideration.

### *Section L.*

#### RAŠNU.

The divinity Rašnu ('Righteousness [?], Brightness [?]) appears in association with Sraoša and Arštāt (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12; vi, 6; vii, 9; xvii, 6; xxii, 9); with Mišra (Vd. iv, 54); with Mišra and Daēnā (VYt. 52); with Ahura Mazda, Mišra, and Ārmaiti (Yt. xiii, 3); with the Fravašis, Mišra, and Dāmōiš Upamana (Yt. xiii, 47); and with many other deities (cf. Ys. xvi, 5; lxv, 12; lxx, 3; Yt. x, 139; xi, 16-7; xiii, 85-6; Vsp. vii, 2; xi, 6). He is the son of Ahura Mazda and Ārmaiti, and the brother of Sraoša, Mišra, Daēnā, and Arštāt (Yt. xvii, 16); with Vərəθrayna and Mišra he goes to and fro between the opposing hosts to give victory to the right (Yt. xiv, 47); he drives back the foe while Mišra drives them forward and Sraoša drives them all to defeat before the lines of the Yazatas (Yt. x, 41). Rašnu has given a dwelling to Mišra (Yt. x, 79, 81) and attends him on his left, while Sraoša is on his right, and the Waters, Plants, and Fravašis surround him (Yt. x, 100); or, according to another version (ib. §§ 126-7), Rašnu, 'who best wards off the foe', is on Mišra's right, Čistā and Daēnayā Upamana being on the left, and Dāmōiš Upamana, Ātar, and X'arənah being in attendance.

The twelfth Yašt is composed in Rašnu's honour. Like Ahura Mazda, he and Urvašā are invited to come to the sacrifice, at which he is present together with Vāta, Dāmōiš Upamana, X'arənah, and Savah (§ 6); he aids the innocent and strikes down the thief (§§ 7-8); he is in all parts of the terrestrial and celestial worlds (§§ 9-37); and Zaraθuštra prays that Vištāspa may possess the right law like Rašnu (ĀZ. 7). He presides over the eighteenth day of the month (Sir. i, 18; ii, 18; SIs xxii, 18; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

According to the Pahlavi version of Ys. i, 7, Rašnu receives his name 'because that from him there is justice and truth', and he is the genius of right (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 37). He is associated with Aštāt, and one of the three sacred cakes consecrated at dawn on the fourth day after a death must be in his honour, the second being for Rām, and the third for the Fravaši of the deceased (SIS xvii, 4; SD lxxxvii, 2; cf. DD xxx, 2; Dk. IX, ix, 6). He is an auxiliary of Amerōdat (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 36) and is especially associated with the judgment of souls, which he counts (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 39) or weighs (AVN v, 5; MX ii, 118-22) at the Cinvat Bridge. Together with Srōš (DD xiv, 4; lviii, 5), or Mitrō (SD i, 4; xviii, 16; c, 2), or Aūharmazd, Vohūman, Mitrō, and Srōš (DD xxxi, 11), he makes up the soul's account. In company with Mitrō, Vāi, Vāhrām, Aštāt, and Dīn he aids Artā-Virāf in his journey to the other world (AVN v, 3); and with Mitrō, Srōš, Vāhrām, Aštāt, and Dīn he was sent by Aūharmazd to assist Pēšyōtanū (BYt. iii, 32). He guides the righteous to heaven and is distinguished for justice (SIS xxii, 18; xxiii, 3). The lost Nikātūm and Ganabā-sar Nijat Nasks of the Avesta contained further details concerning him (Dk. VIII, xx, 153, 157-8; xxii, 23). His appellation occasionally occurs in proper names, as in Rašnōi and Rašnuyah, and Rašnu is the name of a witness in the Āvramān Papyrus<sup>1</sup>.

Besides the colourless epithet *amavant-* ('mighty'), which he has in common with several other divinities, Rašnu shares *bərəzant-* ('lofty') with Apām Napāt, the Amēša Spēntas, 'Arədvī', Aši, Ahura Mazda, Ahura-Miθra, Tištrya, the Fravašis, Miθra, Sraoša, and Haoma; *spēništa-* ('most holy') with the Fravašis; *dūraēdarəštəma-* ('most far-seeing') with Ahura Mazda; and *razišta-* ('most upright') with Čistā; while his exclusive Avestan epithets are *arš-thaēša-* ('orthodox'), *upa-raodišta-* ('most restraining'), *parakavistəma-* ('farthest reaching'), *vaēdišta-* ('most wise'), and *vidōčišta-* ('best deciding').

The original nature of Rašnu is not wholly clear. Bartholomæ and Dhalla<sup>2</sup> regard him as the deity of truth, so that he might be considered the male counterpart of Arštāt. On the other hand, his special association with Miθra suggests some connexion with the sun, and his epithet *berezant-* also seems to

<sup>1</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, viii, 4; Pognon, *Coupees*, nos. 12, 17, 30; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 259; Herzfeld, *Faikuli*, i, 83 (Āvramān Parchment, l. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomæ, *AirWb.* col. 1516; Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 111; cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 115.



imply a celestial nature. If he was a solar god rather than the deity of truth, the currently accepted etymology of his name, from *raz-*, 'to direct', might appear to make him the divinity who directs the sun in his course toward the west, whence Rašnu's function as one of the judges of the dead was later developed. Yet it is equally possible that his name is connected, not with *raz-*, 'to direct', but with the base \**areǵ-* found in Sanskrit *ṛjiká-*, 'glittering', *árjuna-*, 'white, bright', Greek *ἀργός*, 'shining, bright, glistening', Latin *argentum*, 'silver', Old Irish *airget*, 'white', etc.<sup>1</sup> He would then be 'Bright(ness)' rather than 'Righteous(ness)'. On this hypothesis he finds a partial analogue in the Vedic solar god Pūṣan, who, abiding in heaven, moves onward beholding the universe (RV II, xl, 4-5; VI, lviii, 2); who is a lord of paths, guiding the dead on the far path to the Pitaras (VI, xvii, 6; xlix, 8; liv, 9; X, xvii, 3-5; liii, 1; lix, 7) and dispersing foes (I, xlii, 7-8; lxxxix, 5; VI, xlviii, 19; liii, 4); and who is 'all-pervading' (II, xl, 6), with the distinctive epithet *ághr̥ṇi-* ('glowing, radiant'; RV I, xxiii, 13, 14; cxxxviii, 4; III, lxi, 7; VI, xlviii, 16; liii, 3, 8, 9; lv, 1, 3; VII, xl, 6; VIII, iv, 17, 18; IX, lxvii, 12; X, xvii, 5.)<sup>2</sup>

### Section M.

#### SPĀNTA MAINYU.

Frequently mentioned together with Ahura Mazda, with whom he seems sometimes to be identical, and from whom he is sometimes distinct, Spānta Mainyu ('Holy Spirit') is one of the most perplexing figures in the whole Iranian pantheon<sup>3</sup>. The material concerning him in the Gāthās and Haptaŋhāiti is as follows:

(a) *Spānta Mainyu alone*. He clothes himself with the firmest heavens as his garment (Ys. xxx, 5); paradise is received through him (xlvi, 2); and 'at the first of life' he addresses Aŋra Mainyu (xlv, 2). He was one of the two primal spirits and chose Aša (xxx, 5), but the wicked fall away from him (xlvii, 4).

<sup>1</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 74, 75; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 59-60; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 44; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 35-7; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 362-72; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 106-8.

<sup>3</sup> P. Volz, 'Der heilige Geist in den Gathas des Sarathuschtra', in *ETXAPIΣTHPION, Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments Hermann Gunkel . . . dargebracht*, i (Göttingen, 1923), 323-45.

(b) *Spēnta Mainyu and Ahura Mazda.* Ahura Mazda will come with Spēnta Mainyu and other divine beings (xlili, 6), and through the 'Holy Spirit' Zaratustra seeks to know the 'Wise Lord' as the creator of all (xliv, 7). Ahura Mazda, who is entreated to hear through Spēnta Mainyu (xlv, 6), has promised the best to the righteous through the 'Holy Spirit', who is his son (xlvii, 3).

(c) *Spēnta Mainyu, Ahura Mazda, and Ādā.* Ahura Mazda is besought to give strength through Spēnta Mainyu by Ādā (xxxiii, 12).

(d) *Spēnta Mainyu, Ahura Mazda, and Ātar.* The righteous approach Ahura Mazda through Ātar and Spēnta Mainyu (xxxvi, 1).

(e) *Spēnta Mainyu distinct from Ahura Mazda.* In addition to the passages cited in b-d, Spēnta Mainyu is expressly differentiated from Ahura Mazda elsewhere in the Gāthās. With Xšaθra and Ārmaiti, Ahura Mazda will give Haurvatāt and Amərətāt for Spēnta Mainyu, and Vohu Manah according to Aša (xlvii, 1); through the 'Holy Spirit' and Ātar, with the aid of Ārmaiti and Aša, the 'Wise Lord' will apportion final rewards (xlvii, 6; cf. xxxi, 3); and through Spēnta Mainyu, Ahura Mazda created kine, water, and plants, Amərətāt and Haurvatāt (li, 7; in xlvii, 3, Spēnta Mainyu, after consulting Vohu Manah, creates kine and forms Ārmaiti to give pasture; cf. xxviii, 1).

(f) *Spēnta Mainyu and Ātar.* Once (xxxvi, 3) the 'Holy Spirit' seems to be identified with Ātar.

(g) *Spēnta Mainyu and Gēuš Tašan.* In one passage (xxxi, 9) the 'Wisdom of the Spirit' is identified with Gēuš Tašan (cf. xlvii, 3).

(h) *Spēnta Mainyu and Vohu Manah.* In several passages (xxxiii, 6; xxxiv, 2; xlv, 5) Bartholomae and Moulton<sup>1</sup> regard Spēnta Mainyu as practically synonymous with Vohu Manah.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *Gathas*, pp. 40, 74, 93; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 97, 111.

<sup>2</sup> For further association of Spēnta Mainyu with Ahura Mazda and other divine beings in the Gāthās see Sections on Vohu Manah, d, n, r, y, dd; Aša, f, h; Haurvatāt and Amərətāt, b; and concerning him generally cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 24-5, 85-6, 225; P. Volz, 'Der heilige Geist in den Gathas der Zarathushtra', in *EYXAPIΣTHPION, Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments Hermann Gunkel . . . dargebracht* i (Gottingen, 1923), 323-45.

Like Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaθra, and Ārmaiti, Spənta Mainyu is a mediator. Through him Ahura Mazda is besought to give strength (xxxiii, 12); through him Zaraθuštra seeks to know the 'Wise Lord' as creator of all (xliv, 7); through him instruction is derived (xxxiii, 6; cf. xxviii, 11); through him Ahura Mazda is implored to hear (xlv, 6); through him the 'Wise Lord' has promised the best to the righteous (xlvii, 5) and has created kine, water, and plants, Haurvatāt and Amərətāt (li, 7), though elsewhere (xlvii, 3) the 'Holy Spirit' himself creates cattle and forms Ārmaiti to give them pasture.

In the Younger Avesta it is noteworthy that, unlike Ahura Mazda and all other beings divine and human, Spənta Mainyu has no Fravaši and receives no worship from man. If in Vsp. xii, 4, and Yt. xiii, 28, he may perhaps be regarded as identical with the 'Wise Lord', elsewhere he is clearly a separate being, for Ahura Mazda sacrifices to Vayu that he himself may smite down the creation of Aṇra Mainyu, not that of Spənta Mainyu (Yt. xv, 2-3); and if the Fravašis had not aided Ahura Mazda, Aṇra Mainyu would have conquered Spənta Mainyu (Yt. xiii, 12-13). The 'Holy Spirit' sustains the Fravašis (Yt. xiii, 29), and he alone, except Ahura Mazda, is termed 'creator' (*daδvah-*; Yt. x, 143). The good creation, accordingly, belongs to Spənta Mainyu, and he formed it as Aṇra Mainyu shaped the evil creation (Ys. lvii, 17; Yt. xiii, 76; xv, 3, 43-4; cf. Ys. i, 16; xxvii, 2; Yt. vi, 2; viii, 48; x, 142; Vd. v, 33; xiii, 1-2, 5-6, 16, 28). Vayu is one of his creations (Yt. xv, 42), and to him Spənta Mainyu has given part of himself (Ys. O, 9; xxii, 24; xxv, 5; lxxii, 10; Yt. xv, 5, 57, 58; Sīr. i, 21; ii, 21). The stars also were created by him (Ys. i, 11; iii, 13; iv, 16; vii, 13; xxii, 13; Yt. xii, 32). The wicked are to be removed from his creation (Ys. viii, 6; xi, 13; cf. VYt. 51), and he is, as already implied, the special antagonist of Aṇra Mainyu (Yt. xix, 44, 46; cf. VYt. 47). His messengers are Vohu Manah, Aša, and Ātar (Yt. xix, 46). He it was who fashioned Miθra's star-decked chariot (Yt. x, 143), and he with the Aməša Spəntas created Maθra Spənta (Vd. xix, 9), while all holy things are dedicated to him (Ys. lviii, 6). He is the holier of the twin primal spirits (Ys. xix, 9); but, very possibly in conscious distinction from him, Ahura Mazda is 'the most holy spirit' (Ys. i, 1; xix, 1; Yt. i, 1; xiv, 1, 34, 42; Āfr. iv, 4; Vd. ii, 1; vii, 1; ix, 1; x, 1; xiv, 1; xviii, 14).

The Pahlavi texts add little to our knowledge of Spēnāk Mānōg. He is the source of all virtue (Dk. III, cexvi, 3), giving man the qualities which make him good and successful (ib. III,

cevi, 4 ; ccxii, 2-3, 5-6). Accordingly he who possesses the power of Spēnāk Māinōg successfully opposes Ahriman (ib. III, cxlviii, 2-3), and he who rejects Spēnāk Māinōg absorbs the nature of Ahriman (ib. III, lxxxv, 2). The 'Holy Spirit' is described as separate from Aūharmazd (ib. III, xl, 2 ; cxxxviii, 2), and his creation is frequently mentioned (e.g. ib. III, clxii, 2 ; ceiii, 15 ; cclxxvii, 3). He produces Vohūman and intelligence (ib. III, cxiii, 3) and gives man divine wisdom (ib. III, cccii, 2), while the Mazdayasnian religion is derived from his innate intelligence (ib. III, cccc, 16). His special foe is Ahriman, whom he will conquer (e.g. ib. III, lxxxvii, 2 ; clxii, 2 ; cccix, 2 ; cclxxvii, 3) ; and he will banish evil from the world (ib. III, ceiii, 17).

Spēnta Mainyu may possibly be represented by the Monuhmēd Vazurg ('Great Soul') mentioned in two Pahlavi Manichaean fragments and described as coming from the earth from the south,<sup>1</sup> or by the 'Living Spirit' (Ruḥā Hayyā, Ζῶν Πνεῦμα, Spiritus Vivens), called into existence, according to Theodore bar Kḥōnī, by Ban,<sup>2</sup> and in his turn producing five bright emanations, rescuing Primæval Man from Darkness, and making sun, moon, and stars, as well as the circles of wind, fire, and water.<sup>3</sup>

Whether Spēnta (Mainyu) forms a component of the Old Persian proper name Σπενδαδάτης and the Avestan proper name Spəntōdāta, as Justi held,<sup>4</sup> as well as of the Avestan mountain-name Spəntō-dāta (Yt. xix, 6 ; cf. Bd. xii, 2, 23),<sup>5</sup> is not wholly certain ; and the same statement holds concerning the \*Spəntasdaēva (!) (אספנדסדיא) described as 'the jinn (גִּיָּנִי) of Solomon, son of David', on a magic bowl-inscription.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> For this deity cf. below, p. 147, and see Jackson, *Mani*.

<sup>3</sup> See Cumont, *Cosmogonie*, pp. 20-5, 29, 31. The nature of the 'Living Spirit' will be fully discussed by Jackson in his *Mani*.

<sup>4</sup> *Namenbuch*, p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> So Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1622 ; West, in *SBE* v, 34, 39, reads the name Spəndyāt.

<sup>6</sup> H. Hyvernat, 'Sur un vase judéo-babylonien du musée Lycklama de Cannes,' in *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, ii (1885), 116, with the emendations of M. Grünbaum and T. Nöldeke, ib. pp. 224-5, 297. Dīv may be used, however, with a good sense in the proper names Dēvdāš ('Given by the Dēv') son of Dēvdast ('Possessing the hand of the Dēv') ; T. Nöldeke, in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* ii [1923], 318 ; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 85 ; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 37.

It is by no means easy to determine the original nature of Spēta Mainyu; but it would appear that he was primarily distinct from Ahura Mazda, with whom he was often blended or identified in the later period. Three hypotheses might be advanced for this close association: (1) an amalgamation of two different mythologies, one ascribing the creation of all things to Ahura Mazda, and the other *quasi*-dualistic with separate creators for good and evil, the good creator, in the amalgamated system, being subordinated to (and frequently confused with) the original creator of all, and the exact relation of the evil creator to the all-creator being left vague;<sup>1</sup> (2) in the effort to reach a monotheistic position a single First Cause was set above the dualism of a good and an evil creator, thus paving the way for Zarvanism; (3) Spēta Mainyu was invented as a demiurge for Ahura Mazda. None of these explanations is very satisfactory. Bartholomae<sup>2</sup> thought that the ambiguity of the relation of Spēta Mainyu to Ahura Mazda comes from the fact that Zoroaster's doctrine was not reasoned out in purely dualistic fashion, but elevated the divinity of Ahura Mazda above the two primal and equal spirits of dualistic thought. Thus the Holy Spirit, when placed in relation to Ahura Mazda, became a servant and a mediator of Ahura Mazda quite like Aša, Vohu Manah, etc., and a new antithesis was then afforded by Ahura Mazda and Aṇra Mainyu'. For Meillet on the other hand, he is 'le principe actif de tout ce qu'il y a de bon, de profitable dans la personne d'*Ahura Mazdā*...la force immanente de *Ahura Mazdā*'.<sup>3</sup>

To the present writer it would seem that the most noteworthy function of Spēta Mainyu is that of a creator, not only in general, but in particular of Vayu, the stars, and the chariot of Miśra, especially as, unlike any other divine being except Ahura Mazda, he is once expressly termed 'creator' (*daḍvah-*; Yt. x, 143). It would appear most probable that he was originally a creator-god like the Indian Prajāpati or Viśvakarman,<sup>4</sup> and that he may have been the later ethicised disguise of the older 'Zrvan'.<sup>5</sup> The resemblance of his name 'Holy Spirit' to the Hebrew רוח הקודש is best regarded as merely fortuitous,<sup>6</sup> and 'Spēta Mainyu' was probably at first nothing more than

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Casartelli, *Philosophy*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *AirWb.* col. 1139.

<sup>3</sup> *Conférences*, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 118-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 206-8.

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 124-9.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* p. 299.

a cultic epithet of an ancient creator-deity whose functions were absorbed by Ahura Mazda as the 'Wise Lord' rose to be the supreme divinity of the pantheon, reducing a once mighty god to an obsolescent though confusing phantom of a deity.

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*Section N.*

SRAOŠA.

The Gāthās give the following material concerning the important deity Sraoša ('Obedience'): Zaraṣuštra presents Xšaētra and Sraoša to Ahura Mazda and Aša (Ys. xxxiii, 14); at the 'Wise Lord's' bidding Sraoša and Vohu Manah will come to the righteous (xliv, 16); Sraoša will attend with Aši to apportion rewards and punishments (xliii, 12); and at the Consummation Zaraṣuštra will invoke Sraoša as 'greatest of all' (xxxiii, 5).

The two chief Younger Avestan texts in honour of this divinity are the fifty-seventh Hā of the Yasna and the eleventh Yašt. From the former we learn that Sraoša was the first of Ahura Mazda's creation to offer prayer and to spread the *barsom* and to chant the Gāthās (Ys. lvii, 2, 6, 7); after sunset he builds a mighty house for the poor and beats down Aēšma with his mace (§ 10), returning victorious to the Aməša Spəntas after every battle (§ 12). He repels evil from the pious and brings the wicked low (§§ 14-5); bearing an uplifted weapon, he has kept sleepless watch over the universe of Ahura Mazda since the creation, battling day and night—but especially after sunset—with the demons, whom he drives back into darkness (§§ 16-8). Haoma made sacrifice to him on Mount Haraiti (§ 19), where he has a victorious mansion with a thousand pillars, lighted by its own radiance within and adorned by stars without (§ 21). Through his might the Aməša Spəntas descend to earth; and he is the best teacher of the religion, giving the righteous protection, both in terrestrial and in celestial life, to conquer the fiends, as well as health and strength to overcome earthly foes (§§ 23, 25-6). He is drawn through the air by four bright, swift steeds with golden hoofs; they cannot be overtaken, but themselves overtake all, so that Sraoša seizes his foe wheresoever he be (§§ 27-9). Thrice each day and night, protecting Ahura Mazda's creation, he goes throughout the earth with his weapon to smite the demons; and he is ever victorious (§§ 30-3), so that those houses receive honour which he guards and in which he is made welcome (§ 34).

The eleventh Yašt contains less information. It states, however, that Sraoša is the best protector of the poor (§ 3) and that he is besought for help (§ 8). He observes the treaty existing between the Most Holy (Ahura Mazda) and the Druj (§ 14; cf. Bd. i, 6, 19); and he was instructed in the religion by Ahura Mazda himself (§ 14), who created him to overcome Aēšma (§ 15). Like other sacred beings he has Āxšti and Hām-vaintī as his companions (§ 16).

Elsewhere in the Younger Avesta, Sraoša is associated with Rašnu and Arštāt (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12); with Rašnu and Miθra (Yt. x, 41); with Miθra and Nairyō-saŋha (Yt. x, 52); with Aši and Nairyō-saŋha (Ys. lvii, 3; Vsp. xi, 16; Yt. xi, 8); with Aši alone (Vsp. xii, 1); with Aši, Nairyō-saŋha, and Āxšti (Vsp. vii, 1); with Aršti (Ys. lvii, 33); with Ātar and Nairyō-saŋha (Yt. xiii, 85); with Ātar and the Fravašis (Vsp. xvi, 1); with the Aməša Spentas, Nairyō-saŋha, Ātar, and Xvarənah (VYt. 40); with Ahura Mazda and Maθra Spənta (Yt. xiii, 146); with Ahura Mazda and Miθra (Vd. xix, 15); with Ahura Mazda and Daēnā (VYt. 14); with Ahura Mazda and the Fravašis (Yt. i, 9); with Ahura Mazda, the Aməša Spəntas, the Fravašis, and Ātar (Ys. iv, 2; cf. iv, 23; xxii, 4); with Ahura Mazda, Miθra, Rašnu, the Fravašis, Vərəθrayna, Rāman, and Vāta (Ys. xvi, 5; cf. lxx, 3); and with Waters, Lands, Plants, the Aməša Spəntas, the Fravašis, Miθra, Rašnu, Ātar, and Apəm Napāt (Ys. lxx, 12). He is invoked to honour the Waters (Ys. lvi, 3), and Ātar asks his aid in the last third of the night (Vd. xviii, 22). He holds colloquy with the Druj (Vd. xviii, 30-59), is entreated to overcome the demon Kunda (Vd. xix, 41), and conquers Asrušti (Ys. lx, 5). He attends on the right of Miθra (Yt. x, 100), and is brother to him and Rašnu, Aši and Daēnā being his sisters (Yt. xvii, 16). Zaraθuštra desires that Vištāspa may be tall and victorious like Sraoša (ĀZ. 6). His sacred bird is the cock (Vd. xviii, 14-5, 23).

In the Pahlavi texts Srōš is chiefly associated with the souls of the dead. After he has remained with the soul three days (SD lviii, 4, 7-9), it comes by his aid to the Činvat Bridge (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 17; MX ii, 124), where he is associated with Mitro and Rašn (MX ii, 118-20), with Vāi the Good and Vāhrām opposing Astō-Vidāt, Vāi the Bad, Frazīšt, Nizišt, and Aēšm (ib. ii, 115). With Ātar he welcomes and escorts Artā-Virāf through heaven and hell (AVN iv, 2, etc.) Mentioned in company with Mitro, Rašn, Vāhrām, Aštāt, and the Glory of the Mazdayasnian Religion (BYt. iii, 32), he is associated with Rašn, Aštāt, Vāi, and the Fravašis in the cult of the dead (SIS

xvii, 4; cf. DD xxviii, 5-6; xxx, 2-4; xxxi, 11); and a ceremony is to be performed in his honour when a child dies at the age of seven (SD xlvii, 1). He keeps demons from the righteous and is distinguished for vigour (SIS xxii, 17; xxiii, 3).

Srōš is an auxiliary of Artavahišt and has received from Aūharmazd the protection of the material world, which he rules (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 15, 17). He is lord of Airān Vēj (MX xlv, 35) and 'dwells mostly in Arzah and afterwards also in Savah and the whole world' (i.e., chiefly in the west and only later in the east; MX lxii, 25; cf. Bd. v. 8; xi, 3). Together with Neryō-sang he is a messenger of Aūharmazd (BYt. iii, 25, 26, 59-60),<sup>1</sup> and with Vohūman he aids the infant Zartūšt (ZS xvi, 9). He is also associated with Vohūman and Mitrō (Dk. IX, xxviii, 3); his chief foe is Aēšm (Bd. xxx, 29; Dk. III, cxxiv, 2; VI, i, 4-7; VIII, ix, 3); and he is primarily concerned with the words of men rather than with their thoughts or deeds (DD iii, 13-4). He presides over the seventeenth day of every month (Sir. i, 17; ii, 17; SIS xxii, 17; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). The Pahlavi version of Ys. i, 7, also describes him as 'the promoter of the world', and he is once associated with Mānī in a Turfān fragment.<sup>2</sup> Under the form Su-lu-ša-lo-yi he appears in the Chinese *Po sseu kiao ts'ang king* as 'the King who judges matters',<sup>3</sup> and he may be the Third Son of Manichaeism.<sup>4</sup>

The importance of Sraoša is implied by the abundance of his epithets in the Avesta. Omitting such general adjectives as *aojahvant-* ('possessing strength'), *amavant-* ('mighty'), *tazma-* ('sturdy'), *sūra-* ('mighty'), and *hu-raoša-* ('well-formed'), he shares the epithet *ašivant-* ('possessing rewards') with Hađiš; *āsu-* ('swift'), *tanu-maθra-* ('whose body is the Spell'), and *bāzuš-aojah-* ('possessing strength of arm') with Miθra; *āhuīrya-* ('associated with Ahura') with the Aməša Spəntas and Daēnā; *frādat-gaēša-* ('furthering creatures') with Arštāt, Aša, Ahura Mazda, Daēnā, and Haoma; and *friša-* ('beloved') with Ārmaiti. His warlike nature finds expression in the epithets *raθaēštār-* ('warrior'), which he shares with Ātar and Miθra; *varəθrajan-* ('victorious') like Ahura Mazda, the Fravašis, Vāta, and Haoma; and *hām-varəitivant-* ('capable of defending') in common with the Fravašis. He is *barəzant-* ('lofty') like Apām Napāt, the Aməša Spəntas, 'Arədvī', Aši

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Šāh-Nāmah*, tr. J. Mohl, Paris, 1876-78, i, 21, 22; vii, 134.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, pp. 521-2, 523, 530, 545, 553, 567.

<sup>4</sup> Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 327 (cf. also pp. 331, 341, note 2).



Ahura Mazda, Ahura-Miθra, Tištrya, the Fravašis, Miθra, Rašnu, and Haoma; and like Ātar, Miθra, and Vanant he is *aoxtō-nāman-* ('whose name is spoken'). His exclusive epithets are *ašya-* ('pious'), *daršita-* ('bold'), *darši-dru-* ('possessing a bold mace'), *frya-* ('dear'), *barazi-dā* ('possessing lofty sight'), *vanaitivant-* ('victorious'), and *višpā-mazišta-* ('all-greatest'). On the other hand, his appellation scarcely ever occurs as a component of proper names.<sup>1</sup>

The interpretation of Sraoša is by no means easy. Moulton suggested<sup>2</sup> that he was originally the seventh Aməša Spənta; Spiegel<sup>3</sup> regarded him as a god of light; and Tiele<sup>4</sup> considered him to be the personified abstraction of obedience. From the evidence of the Iranian texts he was evidently a celestial deity (cf. Ys. lvii, 27, where his chariot is drawn through the air, and his frequent epithet *barazant-*, 'lofty', as well as *barazi-dā*, 'possessing lofty sight'). It is also significant that his brothers are Miθra and Rašnu, and his sisters Aši and Daēnā, who, I have suggested,<sup>5</sup> were respectively the Sun and another solar deity, the Lucky Star and the Sky. He is, however, active by night rather than by day (Ys. lvii, 10, 16), so that his house is star-decked (Ys. lvii, 21); and it is noteworthy that his aid is asked by Ātar particularly in the last third of the night (apparently to re-enforce the glow of the dying embers; Vd. xviii, 22). It is appropriate, then, that his bird should be the cock (Vd. xviii, 14-5, 23), whose apotropaic functions are well known,<sup>6</sup> whence Sraoša is especially a victor over demons. It may also be suggested that his uplifted weapon (Ys. lvii, 16) is the upright torch borne in Mithraic art by Caut, one of the two figures standing beside the tauroctonous Miθra; and that Caut (perhaps 'the Burner')<sup>7</sup> was another name (or possibly the original appellation) of Sraoša. It seems most probable, on the whole, that Sraoša was primarily the morning star, corresponding to the Greek Phaethon and Phosphoros,<sup>8</sup> the Lithuanian Ausrine ('Morning [Star]')<sup>9</sup>, one of the divine twins represented by the

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 105, 310-1.

<sup>2</sup> *EZ* p. 99; cf. pp. 241, 252.

<sup>3</sup> *EA* ii, 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Religion*, ii, 207-8; so also Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 155, who terms him priest god', ib. p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 97-8, 101, 64-5, 72-3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, 'Cock', in *ERE*, iii, 694-7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *Le Muséon*, 1915, pp. 189-91.

<sup>8</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 42, 960; G. Knaack, in Roscher, iii, 2175-2202; P. Weiszäcker, ib. iii, 2444-53.

<sup>9</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 86.

Lettish 'sons of God' who woo the daughter or the daughters of the Sun,<sup>1</sup> and the Vedic Ašvins.<sup>2</sup>

Outside Iranian the only close cognates of the word Sraoša are found in Slavic (e.g. Old Church Slavic *sluchŭ*, 'ἀκοή, auditus').<sup>3</sup> The term has so little reference to the original nature of the deity that it seems best to regard it as having been primarily a member of a compound possessive adjective (cf. Avestan *a-sraoša-*, 'unhearing', *dərətō-sraoša-*, 'audible'<sup>4</sup>) given to a divinity who later became amnestonymous. Whether his original name, now wholly lost, survived in the Mithraic Caut (Avestan \*Kaot-ar- [?]) is altogether uncertain.

### Section O.

#### Tīr.

Neither the Avestan nor the Old Persian texts mention Tīr ('Arrow' [?]), although evidently he was among the chief figures of at least one of the Iranian pantheons. In Pahlavi writings he appears as the planet Mercury (Bd. v, 1; BYt. iii, 4; SGV iv, 30, 36, 42; Kārnamak iii, 6) and as the opponent of Tištrya (Bd. v, 1; SGV iv, 36); but in later texts the rivals are actually confused (cf. SIS xxii, 13, with xxiii, 2).<sup>5</sup> Originally he presided over the fourth month of the Avestan calendar (June-July of the ideal year; Afr. iii, 8; Bd. vii, 2; xxv, 20), whence were derived the Cappadocian *Τηρι*, *Τερε*, etc., as well as the Chorasmian Cīri and the Sistānian Tīryakān-vā. The thirteenth day of each month was also primarily named in his honour (Sir. i, 13; ii, 13; SIS xxii, 13; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24), though in the case both of months and of days his name was replaced in the Avesta by that of his rival. The Armenian name Trē for the corresponding month is probably Iranian in origin;

<sup>1</sup> W. Mannhardt, 'Die lettischen Sonnenmythen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii (1875), 73-104, 209-44, 261-330.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 53; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 379-96; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 113-9. Against this interpretation one may cite the statement of MX lxii, 25, that Srōš dwells chiefly in the west, and only afterward in the east.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomae's translation of this word (*AirWb.* col. 741) by 'holding fast to obedience, firm in obedience', seems less appropriate; cf. such Sanskrit analogues as *dhr̥takleśa-*, 'grieving', *dhr̥tagarbhā-*, 'pregnant', *dhr̥tadhanu-*, 'archer', *dhr̥tavrata-*, 'firm-vowed', *dhr̥tāśrī-*, 'fortunate'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 418, note 3; Spiegel, *Avesta*, iii, pp. xxi-xxii; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 326; and the passage from Gd. Bd. iii, tr. E. Blochet, in *RHR* xxxii (1895), 105: 'Tīr (is) Tištar.'

in Kurdish Tîr-ma is still sometimes used for July;<sup>1</sup> and in Northern Balōči Tîrband is the name of the constellation Orion.<sup>2</sup> Tîr's importance is further shown by the festival of Tiragān, celebrated on the thirteenth day of the fourth month (i.e. the day Tîr of the month Tîr) and probably mentioned in 'Ab'ōd'hā Zārā (i) under the form تیرری. The feast was held at the summer solstice,<sup>3</sup> and, according to al-Bīrūnī,<sup>4</sup> had its origin in the arrow shot by Ārīš from Tabaristān to the furthest frontier between that land and Faryāna, thus delimiting the boundary between the territories of Afrās'yāb and Minūcihr.

In Armenia Tîr seems to have become the deity Tiur, 'the scribe of Ormizd', whose oneiromantic shrine was situated at Erazamoin, between Valaršapat and Artašat Agathangelus, i, 129).<sup>5</sup> The Greek text here translates *Tiur diē* by Ἀπόλλων; and the Ἡρμῆς of Acts xiv, 2, is glossed by Tiur in the margin of some old manuscripts of the Armenian New Testament.<sup>6</sup> It would appear, moreover, that it was Tîr rather than Tištrya (as is commonly supposed) who was represented, under the name TEIPO, on a gold coin of the Indo-Scythian Huviška which portrays him, under the influence of the Greek Artemis as a deity of the chase, as a goddess (!) clothed in a long chiton and himation, holding a bow in the right hand, and with the left drawing an arrow from a quiver.<sup>7</sup>

The appellation of the god may be found in the Avestan proper name Tîrō-nakaθwa (Yt. xiii, 126);<sup>8</sup> and certainly forms a component of many Old Persian and Armenian names, notably Tīrpaīos ('Relating to Tîr'), Tēritōύχης ('Possessing the Seed of Tîr'), Tīrīβζος ('possessing the Arm of Tîr'), and Tīrīdāτης ('Given by Tîr');<sup>9</sup> as well as in the Tira, Tiripirna (\*Tirafarnah, 'Possessing the Glory of Tîr'), and Tīriyāma ('Twin of Tîr')

<sup>1</sup> Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 9; F. Macler, in *ERE* iii, 70; A. Jaba, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, Petrograd, 1879, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> M. L. Dames, *A Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language*, Calcutta, 1881, p. 63; W. Geiger, *Etymologie des Balūči*, Munich, 1890, p. 45, and A. Götze, in *KZ* li (1923), 146-53, are scarcely correct in connecting this word with Tištrya.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *ERE* v, 872, 874, 875.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 109-11; cf. Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 294.

<sup>6</sup> Ananikian, *Mythology*, p. 31; for Tiur generally see ib. pp. 29-33, and Sandalgian, *Histoire*, pp. 743-4.

<sup>7</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 6-7 and fig. x.

<sup>8</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 651.

<sup>9</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 323, 325, 326-7; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 88.

[?]) of Babylonian business documents of the Achaemenian period;<sup>1</sup> the תִּרְוָה (\*Tiravohu [?]) and תִּירִיבְרִי (evidently compounded with Tīr) of Elephantine papyri;<sup>2</sup> the תִּרְדָּא (an appellation of Ahasuerus) of *Esther Rabba* oni, 3;<sup>3</sup> the Tīrin of the Avamān Parchment (l.1)<sup>4</sup>; and the Armenian Trdat.<sup>5</sup> Whether the name appears in the Tirindira of RV VIII, vi, 46, is very doubtful;<sup>6</sup> but it may be part of the designation of the village of Tīrūda (near Khair), said to have been the birth-place of Artašīr Pāpakān,<sup>7</sup> and also of the town of Τηριδάτα (variant Τεριδάτα) which once existed on a bank of the Euphrates (Ptolemy, V, xviii, 7).

Attempts to derive the name Tīr from Tištrya or from Avestan *tiyri-*, 'arrow', must be deemed unsuccessful.<sup>8</sup> It would seem to be a reduced-zero grade of the base \*terēi-, \*terōu-, 'to pierce'. The Sanskrit lexicographers (Hemacandra, *Abhidhānaśāntamāni*, 780; Puruṣottama, *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, II, viii, 53) mention *tīra-* and *tīri-* as terms for 'arrow'; and the Iranian \**tīra-*, granting that it also means 'arrow', may be cognate with the group of Sanskrit *turā-*, 'wounded, diseased' (only in RV VIII, lxxix, 2), Greek *τορός*, *τρανής*, 'piercing', *τηγρός*, 'pierced', *τέρετρον*, 'auger', *τετραίνω* 'to pierce', *τερηδών*, 'wood-worm', Latin *terebrā*, 'auger', *tero*, 'futo' (Plautus, *Captivi*, 888; Propertius, IV, x, 30; Petronius, 87), Old Irish *tarathar*, Old Breton *tarater*, 'auger' (from this group are derived Old French *tarere*, Modern French *tarière*, Spanish *taladro* [by dissimilation from \**taradro*], 'auger', Italian *tara-*

<sup>1</sup> Clay, *Documents*, p. 65 (together with some other possible instances); id. *Artaxerxes*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyri aus Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 14, 19 (vii, 5, 9; x, 13); Cowley, *Papyri*, pp. 51, 52, 133, 134, 135.

<sup>3</sup> M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, London, 1903, pp. 1221-1696.

<sup>4</sup> Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 83.

<sup>5</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 325, 326; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 89. Armenian names like Tirair seem to be connected rather with Armenian *tēr*, 'lord' (from \**ti-air*, 'man of?'; Meillet, *Esquisse*, p. 24; cf. H. Hübschmann, in *Festgruss an Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 104).

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, i, 310-1.

<sup>7</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 262; Horn, *Etymologie*, p. 91; Hübschmann, *Studien*, p. 49; and especially the very full discussion by T. Nöldeke, in *SWAW* cxvi (1888), 417-20. The connexion is defended, though scarcely with success, by A. Götze, in *KZ* li (1923), 146-53.

*dore*, 'wood-worm'), Low German *drillen*, Swedish *drilla*, English *drill*, 'to bore'.<sup>1</sup>

Support is lent to the etymology here proposed by Tīr's representation as a deity with arrows; and the name may have been an abbreviation of some word compounded with \**tīra*-, 'arrow', this lost compound having been a cultic epithet substituted for the deity's real name, which had vanished at an early date.

As the lord of the planet Mercury Tīr would correspond to the Babylonian Nabu, the god of wisdom,<sup>2</sup> thus explaining his functions in Armenia. Nabu, however, has no connexion with arrows, his symbol being a staff which is interpreted both as a writer's stylus and as a ruler's sceptre. As the divinity of the fourth month Tīr's counterpart in the Semitic calendar was Tammūz, a solar divinity presiding over spring vegetation and personifying agricultural activity, with a famous festival which was celebrated at the coming of the summer solstice<sup>3</sup> and was possibly the origin of the Persian Tiragān.

The only epithet implying association of arrows used of an Iranian deity is *xšviri-išu*- ('possessing swift arrows') once applied to Miθra (Yt. x, 102; cf. §§ 101, 129); and as the sun-god Miθra has arrows, so Apollo possesses them in his solar capacity.<sup>4</sup> Tīr's connexion with arrows might, moreover, suggest that he was the divinity of the zodiacal sign Sagittarius or Arcitenens (the Greek *Toξότης* and the Sanskrit Dhanu), rising to prominence when, in the procession of the equinoxes, the summer solstice fell in the sign of the Archer.<sup>5</sup>

The closest analogue of Tīr, however, is the divine archer of Mithraism who shoots an arrow which strikes a rock, causing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 81; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 948-9; V. Henry, *Lexique étymologique . . . du Breton moderne*, Rennes, 1900, p. 260; Meyer-Lübke, *Wörterbuch*, p. 646; Falk-Torp, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 155-7; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, ii, 1729.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, pp. 124-30, 228-30, 371; A. Jeremias, in *PRE* xiii, 690-2.

<sup>3</sup> Jastrow, *Religion*, pp. 58, 547, 588, 682-3; T. G. Pinches, 'Tammuz', in *ERE* xii, 187-91; W. von Baudissin, 'Tammuz', in *PRE* xix, 334-77.

<sup>4</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1244.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 435-7, and the study by Mrs. E. W. Maunder there cited.

abundant water to leap forth.<sup>1</sup> Cumont<sup>2</sup> identifies this archer with Miśra himself; but though this was doubtless true in the period of the Mithraic monuments, the antithesis shown by such proper names as *Μιθραδάτης* and *Τιτιδάτης* gives rise to some doubt whether it was so in the beginning. One does not lightly differ from M. Cumont,<sup>3</sup> but it may be suggested that Tir was an ancient deity who survived in the Avestan *grəxša*, 'the best archer of the Aryans', who shot an arrow on which Ahura Mazda, Waters, and Plants had breathed, for which Miśra prepared a path, and which was followed by Aši and Pārəndi (Yt. viii, 6-7, 37-8). *grəxša*, whose name Justi<sup>4</sup> compares with Sanskrit *ṛkṣā-* ('bald'), is mentioned by later writers under the form *Āriśšibātīr* ('Āriś the Swift-Arrowed'); and *Āriś*, as we have already seen, figures in al-Bīrūnī's account of the origin of the feast of Tiragān, where his bolt strikes a gigantic nut-tree somewhat as the Mithraic archer's shaft hits a rock.<sup>5</sup> In the Avesta *grəxša*, like Miśra (the only other divine being to bear the term), has the epithet *xšvivi-išu-* (Yt. viii, 6, 37).

Whatever may have been his original name, 'Swift-Arrowed Bald-Pate' would seem to have been primarily a divinity of considerable importance: probably a phase of the sun shooting rays like arrows, and apparently, from the connexion of Tir's festival with the summer solstice, the god of mid-summer, a deity mighty to aid agriculture, but also dangerous to those who unwisely ignored his burning beams. Later this special solar divinity was absorbed into the great sun-god Miśra, and survived only in the vague *grəxša*-myth, in proper names, and—through a late identification with the Babylonian Nabu for some reason no longer clear—as the planet Mercury.

In the Vedas Rudra and the Maruts are termed archers, but their shaft is the lightning; and Agni is likewise a bowman.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 165-6, 306; ii, 231 (and fig. 62), 273, 295 (and fig. 150), 298 (and fig. 154), 300 (and fig. 156), 301 (and fig. 158), 306 (and fig. 163), 307 (and fig. 164), 309 (and fig. 167), 311 (and fig. 168) 313 (and figs. 170-1), 318 (and fig. 179), 322 (and fig. 188), 338 (and fig. 213), 342 (and fig. 216), 343, 346 (and plate V), 350 (and plate VI), 364 (and plate VII), 380 (and fig. 293), 383 (and fig. 295), 515 (and plate IX).

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* i, 165, 220, 306, 343.

<sup>3</sup> *TM* i, 166, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Namenbuch*, pp. 88-9.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to the Oriental references given by Justi, *loc. cit.*, see Darmesteter, *Etudes*, ii, 220-1; R. von Stackelberg, 'Die iranische Schützensage', in *ZdmG* lviii (1904), 853-8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 74, 79, 89.

None of these, however, is analogous to the Iranian deity; nor has Tīr any resemblance with the Vedic Kṛśānu, the Kərəsāni of Ys. ix, 24, who is closely associated with the Soma-myth,<sup>1</sup> and who apparently survives in the Avesta as the deity of the malign aspect of the burning sun.<sup>2</sup>

### Section P.

#### TIŠTRYA.

This deity is honoured by the eighth Yašt, from which we learn that he is a star who grants happy homes (§2), for whom men and beasts and cattle, like all creations of Ahura Mazda, yearn (§§5, 36, 41-2), who flies like an arrow through the air to Vouru-kaša (§§6, 37), and who overcomes sorcery and the constellations that bring drought (§§8, 39). During the first ten nights of the month he appears as a young man, during the second ten as a bull, and during the third ten as a stallion; he battles three days and three nights before conquering Apaoša (§§ 13-29; cf. Bd. vii, 4-13; ZS vi, 4-14); and after his victory he comes to Vouru-kaša in the form of a horse, making the sea boil, and rousing the rain-giving mist and wind (§§30-3; cf. §§8, 40, 46-7). Ahura Mazda made him lord of all stars, and no evil can harm him (§44); he was created equal in honour to the 'Wise Lord' himself, for otherwise sorcery would have prevailed, and especially the fiend Dužyairyā, whom he conquers (§§50-5). His proper sacrifice is a sheep, either wholly black or wholly white, and worship of him wards off the foe; but if the wicked partake of the oblation cooked for him, flood and hostile armies overwhelm the land (§§56-61). Like other Yazatas, he particularly desires to be called by his own name (§§11, 23-5).

Elsewhere in the Avesta Tištrya is mentioned together with Ahura-Miθra, the Stars, Māh, Hvarə, and Miθra (Ys. i, 11; iii, 13; vii, 13); or with Ahura Mazda, the Waters, Hvarə, Māh, and Gōuš Urvan (Ys. xvi, 4); or with other celestial divinities (Ny. i, 8); or with Vāta and Xvarənah (Yt. xviii, 5, 7); or with Vərəθrayna (Vd. xix, 37). He is likewise associated with a group of stars called Tištryaēnīs (Ny. i, 8; Yt. viii, 12).

<sup>1</sup> See Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 112; Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 223-5; M. Bloomfield, 'The Myth of Soma and the Eagle', in *Festgruss an Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 149-55.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 207-8.

In the Pahlavi texts Tištar is chieftain of the east (Bd. ii, 7) and co-operates with Vohūman, Hōm, and Būrj (Bd. vii, 3; ZS vi, 3). He is the opponent of Tīr (Bd. v, 1), although, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> there is much confusion between the two; and he is likewise the foe of Spenžagar (SGV iv, 52; cf. Bd. vii, 12; xxviii, 39). As being especially associated with rain, he, with Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīsūr, Vāt, Hōm, Dīn, Būrj, and the Fravašis, executes the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain; and he is the chief, though he works with Satvēs, draws the water with the aid of Vāt, and moves the clouds with the assistance of Vohūman and Vāt (Dk. III, cxii, 5). He is the first of stars, so that prosperity and the fertility of the world are in his path (MX xlix, 5-6; cf. lxii, 41-2). He is an auxiliary of Horvadāt and produces rain (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32-3), or, according to a slightly different version (ib. iii, tr. E. Blochet, in RHR xxxii [1895], 105), during his battle with Apaōš he carries water to the Fravašis, who give it to Vāt, who distributes it to the seven Kēšvars of the earth.

The Avestan epithets peculiar to Tištrya are *afščiθra-* ('containing the seed of water'), *āsu-xšvāēva-* ('swift-swinging'), *xšvivi-vāza-* ('possessing swift flight'), *drvō-čašman-* ('possessing sound eyes'), *frāderasra-* ('forth-shining'), and *rāmanivant-* ('peaceful'). The principal epithets which he shares with other deities are the following: *uparō-kairya-* ('possessing activity on high') with the Fravašis, Vayu, and Xʼarənah; *xšayama-* ('ruling'), *rāma-šayana-* ('possessing a peaceful abode'), and *hušayana-* ('possessing a good abode') with Miθra; *dūraē-sūka-* ('far-glancing') with Ahura Mazda and the Fravašis; *baēšazya-* ('healing') and *bərəzant-* ('high') with many other divinities; *yaoxštivant-* ('skilful') with Māh, Miθra, and Xʼarənah; *raēvant-* ('radiant') with Ahura Mazda, Māh, Miθra, and Satavaēsa; *raoxšna-* ('shining') with Ātar; *ravō-fraotman-* ('possessing swift flight') with the Fravašis; *vara-čahvant-* ('energetic') with Māh; *vyāvant-* ('beaming') with Aši; and *xʼarənahvant-* ('possessing glory') with Ahura Mazda, Māh, and Satavaēsa. Tištrya is a component of the Manichaean proper name Tišfarn ('Glory of Tištrya') and of the late Parsi Tištarayār ('Friend of Tištrya').<sup>2</sup>

Plutarch confirms the Avestan data when he says (*De Iside et Osiride*, 47) that Horomazes 'established one star, Sirius, before all as a watchman and scout'.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. K. Müller, 'Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch', in *ABAW*, 1912, p. 33; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 328.



Scholars are generally agreed that Tištrya represents Sirius.<sup>1</sup> The Indian equivalent seems to be Tiṣya, a star or constellation whose deity in the Taittiriya Samhitā (IV, iv, 10<sup>1</sup>) is Bṛhaspati.<sup>2</sup> Under the name of Σείριος the dog-star enjoyed a degree of religious awe in Greece.<sup>3</sup>

### Section Q.

#### Vərəθraϑna.

The deity Vərəθraϑna ('Victory') was clearly one of the most important of the entire Iranian pantheon. The fourteenth Yašt is written in his honour, and from it we learn that he is the best-armed of all the Yazatas (§ 1); that, in the form of Vāta, he brought glory, healing, and strength (§ 2); that he conquers demons (§ 4); and that he assumes the forms of a bull with golden horns, of a white horse with golden ears and bridle, of a rutting camel, of a wild boar, of a handsome youth, of a Vārgan-bird,<sup>4</sup> of a wild ram, of a wild goat, and of a warrior (§§ 7, 9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 23, 25, 27). Zərəθuštra prayed to him for victory in debate, and Vərəθraϑna bestowed upon him strength of body and marvellous keenness of vision (§§ 28-33). He broods over the house which is rich in kine (§ 41); and when battle is in suspense, the army which first invokes him and Ama, who accompanies him in at least two of his incarnations (§§ 7, 9), gains the victory (§§ 43-4). With Miθra and Rašnu he goes to and fro between the opposing hosts (§ 47), and if the proper sacrifice—a cooked sheep all of one colour (§§ 49-50)—is offered

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Spiegel, *EA* ii, 70-3; Geiger, *OK* pp. 308-11; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 129-31, 241-2; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 23-6, 436-7. Tiele (*Religion* ii, 227-30), however, held that the association of Tištrya with Sirius was not original, maintaining that Tištrya was primarily the sky-god who in the storm sets free the waters held back by evil beings, his three metamorphoses representing respectively spring, summer, and autumn. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 126, 129, 138, 143-4, 158, 248, 275-7 regarded him as a storm-god and a doublet of Vərəθraϑna.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 103; Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, i, 312; Keith, *Religion*, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 945-8, 954; Gundel, in *PW*, 2 series, v, 334-9; for the etymology of Σείριος ('brilliant, shining') see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 857.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 1411-12; for the magic power of the feathers of this bird, whose shape is also assumed by Kavaēm Xvarenah (Yt. xix, 35), see Yt. xiv, 34-40. Jackson (*PPP* p. 76, with citation of older theories) suggests that it may be the raven, less probably the peregrine falcon.

him, the land need fear no enemy (§ 48). If, however, the wicked partake of this oblation, all manner of evils will befall the country (§§ 51-3). He is associated with Gəuš Urvan (§ 54) and with Uparatāt (§ 64); and is victorious over every foe, human and demonic (§§ 62-3; cf. *ĀZ* 7).

Elsewhere in the Younger Avesta Vərəθraϋna is associated with Hušiti, Ama, and Uparatāt (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vii, 8); or with Ama and Uparatāt (Sīr. i, 20; ii, 20); or with Uparatāt alone (Vsp. i, 6; ii, 8); or with Saošyant (Ys. lix, 28); or with Ahura Mazda, Miθra, Sraoša, Rašnu, the Fravašis, Rāman, and Vāta (Ys. xvi. 5); or with Saokā, the Fravašis, and Tištrya (Vd. xix, 37). In his boar-form he accompanies Miθra (Yt. x, 70-2). He presides over the twentieth day of the Iranian month (Sīr. i, 20; ii, 20; SIS. xxii, 20; xxiii, 2; cf. *Āfr.* iii, 11; *Bd.* xxvii, 24), and over the twenty-seventh day of each Armenian month.

Vərəθraϋna shares with a number of other Iranian deities the colourless epithets *amavant*-('mighty') and *mazda-dāta*-('created by Mazda'); and like Čistā he is *hvāyaona*-('possessing a good place'). His exclusive Avestan epithets are *ahura-dāta*-('created by Ahura'), *barō-xvarənah*-('bearing glory'), *vərəθravan*-('victorious'), and *hvəṣta*-('possessing good pacification'). His appellation is used very frequently as a component of proper names,<sup>1</sup> and he is also honoured in the Armenian names Varazdat ('Boar-Given'), Varazdēn ('Having the Religion of the Boar'), etc.<sup>2</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Vāhrām is identified with the planet Mars (*Bd.* v, 1) and is associated with Mitrō, Rašn, Vāi the Good, Astāt, and Dīn (*AVN* v, 3), or with Mitrō, Srōš, Rašn, Astāt, and the Glory of the Mazdayasnian Religion (*BYt.* iii, 32). He is an auxiliary of Artavahišt and is the standard-bearer of the celestial Yazatas (*Gd. Bd.* xxvi, 18), besides being 'the stimulator of the warlike' (*SIS.* xxii, 20; cf. *xxiii*, 3). At the fourth dawn after death he, together with Srōš and Vāi the Good, aids the soul on its journey to the future world (*MX* ii, 115). He presides over a fire named in his honour (*Bd.* xvii, 1, 2, 9; *BYt.*

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 361-5; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 77-8; Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 46, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 349-50; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 81-2. To these may be added the Varāǵortē ('Boar-Hero') of Paikuli 45 (Herzfeld, *Paikuli* i, 119, 171). It is worth noting, also, that the Sumerians had a deity 'Lord of the Wild Boar' (Nin šakh), the warlike prototype of Ninib (Jastrow, *Religion*, pp. 92-4).

ii, 26, 37; DD xxxi, 7; lxxxi, 18; ZS xxii, 7; MX xxxvi, 9; liii, 5; Dk. VIII, xxv, 2; xxix, 17), this fire being flame in absolute purity as contrasted with such as may have been used for any purpose whatever. Each province should have one of these fires, which must be made from 1001 fires taken from fifteen sorts of fire.<sup>1</sup>

Under the form ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ Vərəθrayna appears on Indo-Scythian coins as a deity bearing a lance in his right hand and in his left the pommel of a sabre which is attached to his belt, and wearing a helmet surmounted by a bird.<sup>2</sup> In Mithraism he was identified with Herakles;<sup>3</sup> Antiochus of Commagene equated him, under the name Ἀρτάγης, with Herakles-Ares;<sup>4</sup> he was perhaps analogous to the Scythian divinity termed Herakles by Herodotus (iv, 59); as Vahagn he was an important figure in the Armenian pantheon;<sup>5</sup> and Mandaeanism has a baptism in the name of Bahrām 'son of ܒܪܗܡ'.<sup>6</sup> Vərəθrayna, rather than Miθra or Zaratuštra, would seem to be the divine figure appearing in a Sāsānian sculpture at Taq-i-Bustān representing the triumph of Artāšīr I and Šāhpūhr I over Artabanus V.<sup>7</sup>

Moulton<sup>8</sup> regarded Vərəθrayna as the god of war, and such he doubtless was in the Avestan period; though it would appear that this was a later development and that he was originally the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Indra.<sup>9</sup> It may further be suggested that the epithet \*vohu-xšaθra ('possessing a good realm'), early applied to him but later abandoned, was evolved into his Gāētic counterpart, the Aməša Spənta Xšaθra (Vairya)<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter, *ZA* i, 157.

<sup>2</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 5 and fig. viii; cf. von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 143, 236.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* i, 131; ii, 90.

<sup>5</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 75-7, 508-9; Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 107-96 Sandalgian, *Histoire*, pp. 760-3; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 42-6, 363-; (where, however, he is erroneously regarded as a fire-god).

<sup>6</sup> W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 105, 225.

<sup>7</sup> See Sir J. Coyajee, 'The Supposed Sculpture of Zoroaster on the Tak-i-Bostan', in *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bombay*, new series, xxii (1926), 391-408.

<sup>8</sup> *EZ* p. 69. Cf. H. W. Magoun, 'Agni Vrttrahan and the Avestan Verethraghna', in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, New Haven, U. S. A., 1920, pp. 197-210.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 118-9, who, however, thinks that both were originally thunder-gods. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 125, 276, considered Vərəθrayna to have been primarily the victorious storm-god.

<sup>10</sup> See above, pp. 46-7.

*Section R.*X<sup>V</sup>ARĒNAH.

The worshipful being X<sup>V</sup>arēnah ('Glory') is associated with Uši-darēna and other mountains (Ys. i, 14; ii, 14; iii, 16; iv, 19; vi, 13; vii, 16; xvii, 14); with Hvarə (Vsp. xix, 2); with Ātar, Savah, and holy mountains and lakes (Ny. v, 5-6; Śīr. i, 9; ii, 9); with Aši, Cisti, grēti, Rasəstāt, and Pārēndi (Śīr. i, 25; cf. ii, 25); with Saokā and holy rivers, as well as with Aša, Ama, etc. (Yt. i, 21-2); with Tištrya, Waters, the Ox, and the Fravaši of Zərəθuštra (Yt. viii, 2); with Apam Napāt, Vāta, and the Fravašis (Yt. viii, 34; cf. xix, 51); with Aši, Tištrya, and Vāta (Yt. xviii, 4-5; cf. 7); and with the Aməša Spəntas, Sraoša, Nairyō-saṇha, and Ātar (VYt. 40).

He is possessed by the Aməša Spəntas, who apportion him to earth (Ny. iii, 5; Yt. vi, 1; vii, 3; xiii, 24, 41, 134; VYt. 34, 46); and he dwells in the midst of Vouru-kaša (Yt. v, 42; xiii, 65; xix, 51, 56-63) or in the waters (Yt. viii, 34). Miθra, to whom X<sup>V</sup>arēnah belongs (Yt. x, 141), also apportions him (Yt. x, 108); or he is brought by Vərəθraϑna (Yt. xiv, 2; cf. 36); or Aši, with whom he is closely associated (Yt. xviii, 4), gives him (Yt. xvii, 6). He conquers fiends (Yt. xviii, 1-2) and, together with Aši, Tištrya, and Vāta, makes plants grow (Yt. xviii, 6).

The nineteenth Yašt is almost entirely devoted to X<sup>V</sup>arēnah. He is possessed by Ahura Mazda, who is thus able to create living beings (§§ 10-1), and also by the Aməša Spəntas (§ 15) and the Yazatas (§ 22). Associated with Haošyaṇha Para-dāta, Urupi, θraētaona, Kərəsāspa, Kavāta, Aipi-vaṇhu, Usa-dan, Aršan, Pisinah, Byaršan, Syāvaršan, Haosravah, Zərəθuštra, and Vištāspa, he gave them their power (§§ 26, 28-9, 36, 38, 71-2, 77, 79, 84); and he caused Yima to prosper until the monarch's sin caused X<sup>V</sup>arēnah to depart from him (§§ 31-8). He will abide in the Saošyants (§§ 22, 66, 89); but possession of him was sought in vain by the evil Fraṇrasyan (§§ 56-63, 82; Yt. v, 41-3). Spanta Mainyu and Aṇra Mainyu strove with each other to win him (§§ 45-50); and he is the protector of the Aryan lands, of animals, of righteous men, and of the Mazdayasnian Religion (§ 69). He can assume the shape of the Vərə-gan bird<sup>1</sup> (§§ 35, 36, 38); and with Vāta, Dāmōiš Upamana, and Savah he accompanies Ahura Mazda or Rašnu to the sacrifice (Yt. xii, 4, 6). Together with Aši, Pārēndi, Ham-varēti, θwāša,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 117.

Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Fravašis he escorts Miθra (Yt. x, 66); or with Ātar he follows Miθra, on whose right is Rašnū, on whose left are Čistā and Daēnayō Upamana, and who is also attended by Dāmōiš Upamana (Yt. x, 126-7). He seems to be identified with the light of the sun (Yt. vi, 1) and of the moon (Ny. iii, 5; Yt. vii, 3). The 'Huzvareš' equivalent of Xvarənah is sometimes *gadman* (Hebrew גַּדְמָן Aramaic *gaddā*, 'fortune, luck', Arabic *ǧadd*, 'fortune, luck, glory'), as in the Pahlavi version of Ny. iii, 5 (cf. AVN v, 3; ci, 28; Bd. xvii, 5; xxxiv, 4).

In addition to the rather colourless Avestan epithets *uγra* ('strong') and *mazdaδāta*- ('created by Mazda'), which he has in common with many other divinities, Xvarənah shares *uparō-kairya*- ('possessing activity on high') with Tištrya, the Fravašis, and Vayu; *θamnahvant*- ('careful') with Tištrya; *pouru-xvarənah*- ('possessing much glory') with Ahura Mazda, Ātar, and the Yazatas; *yaoxšlivant*- ('skilful') with Tištrya, Māh, and Miθra; and *varəcāhvant*- ('energetic') with Tištrya and Māh. His exclusive epithets are *aš-vandra*- ('receiving much praise'), *axvarəta*- ('unseized'), *gaomavant*- ('milk-possessing'), *pouru-išta*- ('desired by many'), *pouru-vaθuca*- ('possessing many herds'), and *baraǰāya*- ('victory-bearing' [?]).

His name occurs in the Old Persian *Φαρνάβαζος* ('Possessing the Arm of Xvarənah'), *Φαρνζάβης* ('Born of Xvarənah'; cf. the form Pirrinazata in a Babylonian document of the reign of Darius II and the later form Farruxzād), *Φαρνόςροθος* ('Possessing the Realm through Xvarənah' [?]), *Φαρναπάρης* ('Protected by Xvarənah'), Farnbag ('[Possessing (?)] the Glory-God'), Faruxbuxt ('Redeemed by Xvarənah'), Farruxhundād ('Possessing Foundation through Xvarənah'),<sup>1</sup> Farruxdād ('Given [or, Created] by Xvarənah').<sup>2</sup> *פרנבסר(א)וא* ('Possessing Fame through Xvarənah'),<sup>3</sup> Farnbām ('Radiance of Xvarənah')<sup>4</sup> and perhaps in the *פרננן בר פרננן* of an Aramaic incantation, 'before whom [trembles the sea, and behind whom tremble the mountains]'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 92, 93, 94, 96-8, 103; Clay, *Darius*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Braun, *Akten*, p. 210 (cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 96).

<sup>3</sup> M. Lidzbarski, in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i (1902), p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> F. W. K. Müller, 'Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch' in *ABAW*, 1912, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, vii, 12.

Under the name ΦΑΡ(P)O the deity appears on gold Indo-Scythian coins as a male divinity facing right, with diadem, nimbus, chiton, and himation, holding a lance in his left hand and fire in his right, other coins showing variations of little moment in the present connexion.<sup>1</sup>

The original nature of X<sup>v</sup>arənah has been explained by Spiegel<sup>2</sup> as 'the most spiritual form of fire....and an emanation of primeval light'; by Darmesteter<sup>3</sup> as 'the supernatural light which is the expression of all virtue, all might, all felicity'; by Moulton<sup>4</sup> as the external soul; and by Wilhelm<sup>5</sup> as the deity of fortune. It is evident that he was a divinity of light, and in the historic period very often a god of royal fortune, so that it was probably he who was invoked in the oaths frequently sworn 'by the Fortune of the King.'<sup>6</sup>

A study of X<sup>v</sup>arənah's divine associates and of the etymology of his name, together with his epithets, seems, however, to lead a little further. From his companions in the pantheon, as listed above, it becomes obvious that he was a celestial divinity. The epithets *xvarənahvant-* ('possessing glory'), *xvarəno-dā-* ('glory-giving'), *xvarənah-* ('glory'), and *xvarənarəzhan-* ('glorious') are used only of the celestial deities Ahura Mazda, Tištrya, Māh, Miθra, Vayu and Satavaēsa; while *aiwi-xvarənah-* ('possessing glory round about') is used of Vayu; *aš-xvarənah-* ('possessing much glory') of Məθra Spənta; *barō-xvarənah-* ('bearing glory') of Vərəθraγna; and *vindi-xvarənah-* ('glory-finding') of Vayu.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 5 and fig. vi; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 149; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 198, 206.

<sup>2</sup> *EA* ii, 42-5; cf. his 'Die Lehre von der Majestät im Avesta', in *KB* v (1868), 385-96; see also Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 147-51, 199, 202.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA* i, 7, note 2; cf. de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cii.

<sup>4</sup> *EZ* pp. 275-7.

<sup>5</sup> 'Hvarenō', in *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1914, pp. 159-66.

<sup>6</sup> Delehay, *Actes*, p. 96; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 63; Braun, *Acten*, pp. 68, 124; Moses of Khoren, iii, 42.

<sup>7</sup> We also find *ušta-xvarənah-* ('possessing desired glory' [?]) as the name of a mountain (Yt. xix, 5) and *duš-xvarənah-* ('possessing evil glory') as an epithet of A<sup>v</sup>ra Mainyu, Aēšma, and an evil man, while *višpō-xvarənah-* ('possessing all glory') is applied either to the man or to the house visited by Xvarənah (Yt. xviii, 4). There was also a river Xvarənahvaiti (Yt. xix, 67) which is identified with the modern Harūt emptying into the Hāmūn.

The word *xʷarənah-* (Old Persian *farnah-*) appears in Modern Persian as *farr*, *xʷarra*, 'beauty, light, glory'; and is borrowed in Armenian as *p'ark* 'glory'.<sup>1</sup> It is cognate with Avestan *hvar-*, Sanskrit *svār-*, *sūrya-*, 'sun', *svargā-* 'sky, heaven', Albanian *ijl*, 'star', Greek *ἥλιος* (Doric *ἰλιος*, Cretan *ἰβέλιος* < \**σάβελιος*), Latin *sōl* (\**saueļ*), Welsh *haul*, Gothic *sauiļ*, *sunno*, Lithuanian *saulė*, 'sun';<sup>2</sup> and it finds still closer cognates in Sanskrit *svarṇara-*, 'ether, mid-air, bright', and especially in Old Church Slavonic *slūnice*, 'sun' (Russian and Slovenian *solnce*), a diminutive of \**sūlno* < \**sl-no* < \**sl-nes-* (cf. Old Church Slavonic *beslūnīnū*, 'sunless'), which appears in the full-grade in Russian *solnopēkū*, 'place exposed to the sun', *solnosyadū*, 'west', *solnovschodū*, 'sunrise'.<sup>3</sup> The Russian \**solno* seems to correspond exactly to the Avestan *xʷarənah-*, which is a neuter abstract meaning 'light'.<sup>4</sup>

The bulk of the evidence from the mythology, the epithets and the etymology of *Xʷarənah* appears to indicate that he was originally an abstract deity of light, especially of the sun, but also of *Ātar* and *Aša*, *Aši*, *Miθra*, *Vərəθraγna*, *Tiθtrya*, *Rašnu*, *Čistā*, and *Māh*, this likewise explaining his association with the sky-deities *Ahura Mazda*, *Daəṇayā Upamana*, and *Dāmōiš Upamana*. He is, accordingly, the nimbus which surrounds the heads of Kings in Sāsānian art, and the 'Kingly Glory' (*Kavaēm Xʷarənah*) so frequently mentioned in the Avesta.<sup>5</sup> The original concept of light developed into those of radiance, brilliance, glory, fortune, etc., until 'Light', becoming 'Glory', lost nearly every trace of his primary function, though he was still associated with *Uši-darəna*, the mountain of the dawn, and fled (to the west) for refuge in *Vouru-kaša*, the terrestrial Caspian and the celestial sea.

<sup>1</sup> Horn, *Etymologie*, p. 180; Hübschmann, *Studien*, pp. 83, 187, 259, and *Grammatik*, i, 89, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 303, 310, 360, 582, 687; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 321; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 720-1; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 311, 347; Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 251; Persson, *Beiträge*, pp. 370-1, 578-9; Müller, *Wörterbuch* p. 404; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 446-7.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1873; Miklosich, *Grammatik*, ii, 320-1; id. *Lexicon*, p. 861; id. *Wörterbuch*, p. 334; cf. Meillet, *Slave*, pp. 343, 356-61.

<sup>4</sup> For other examples of this formation in Indo-European see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 525-6.

<sup>5</sup> See the references given by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 1871-2.

## Section S.

## ZRVAN.

The divinity Zrvan ('Time') and the system of Zarvanism connected with his name have repeatedly received exhaustive discussion.<sup>1</sup> In the Avesta he is associated with Rāman, Vayu, and ǝwāša (Ys. lxxii, 10; Sir. i, 21; ii, 21), or with Tištrya, Vanant, ǝwāša, Vāta, Čistā, Daēnā, the Path, Zarēnumant, and Saokānta (Ny. i, 8); with the Aməša Spəntas, ǝwāša, Vayu, Vāta, and Ārmaiti (?) he is called to earth by Zərəθuštra (Vd. xix, 13); he created the path which leads to the Cinvaṭ Bridge (Vd. xix, 29); and in him Spənta Mainyu created Mašra Spənta (Vd. xix, 9). He shares with Vayu the epithet *darəyō-xrəδāta*- ('long-autonomous') and has exclusive use of the term *akarana*- ('boundless'). His appellation occurs as a component of the proper names Zarvāndād ('Given [or, Created] by Zarvān') and Zrvanduxt ('daughter of Zrvan'),<sup>2</sup> perhaps also in the Armenian Zruandašt ('Plain of Zrvan' [?]), the name of the traditional founder of the city of Anazarba.<sup>3</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Aūharmazd is declared to have existed independently of Zōrvān (Bd. i, 3), whom he created (Dk. III, cclxvii, 2-6; IV, xxi; ZS i, 24); but the Zarvanite doctrine was proclaimed by the demon Arašk (Dk. IX, xxx, 4-5) and was taught by a sect called Daharīs ('Timists'; SGV vi, 6).<sup>4</sup> Together with Māh, Gōš, Rām, and Spīhr, Zōrvān was created

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel, *EA* ii, 4-12, 176-87; Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 314-38; Casartelli, *Philosophy*, pp. 5, 6-11, 12-4, 29, 53; Moulton, *Treasure*, pp. 26-7, 189, 226, 237; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 151-2, 364-5; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 165-6, 189-90, 206, 207, 219; Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 44-6, 55, 139-44, 236-7; S. A. Pallis, *Mandaëische Studier*, i (Copenhagen, 1919), 116-21; H. Junker, 'Ueber iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung', in *Bibliothek Warburg*, i (1923), 125-78; I. F. Blue, 'The Zarvanite System', in *Indo-Iranian Studies .... in Honour of .... Sanjāna*, London 1925, pp. 61-81; E. Edwards, in *ERE* xi, 346-7; L. Mariès in *REA* iv (1924), 151-66. According to the somewhat unsafe evidence of the seventeenth-century *Dābistān* (tr. D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843, i, 354), the Abādiān sect maintained that Ahriman was produced by Time.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 383-4; cf. also p. 387; Hübschmann, *Grammatik* i, 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie*, i (1903), 190.

<sup>4</sup> This name suggests the heterodox Muhammadan sect of Dahriyya (cf. Arabic *dahr*, 'time'), who taught the eternity of time (M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*; Bonn, 1912, pp. 81-3). Traces of Zarvanite doctrine are seen by E. Browne (*Literary History of Persia*, London, 1902, p. 414) in the eighth degree of the Ismā'īlī initiation.



to aid Vohūman (Gd. Bd. iii, tr. E. Blochet, in RHR xxxii [1895], 104; cf. p. 108), and he is the weapon of Aūharmazd (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13). On the other hand, Aūharmazd is said (MX viii, 8-9; xxvii, 10) to have produced creation 'from that which is his own splendour, and with the blessing of unlimited time... because the affairs of the world of every kind proceed through destiny [*brīh*] and time [*zamānak*] and the supreme decree [*brīnō*] of the self-existent eternity [*zōrvān*], the king and long-continuing lord'. The shorter '*Ulama-i-Islām*<sup>1</sup> states that 'God created everything except [or, from] Time [*az zamān*], and Time is the Creator [*afrīdgār zamān ast*]... eternal Time revealed Ormazd the Lord' [*zamān-i-dirang xudāy Ormazd pēdā kard*].

In Iranian Manichaean fragments Mānī seems to term himself a son of the god (*bay*) Zarvān; blessings and victory, joy and health, come from Zarvān, who is lauded with Light, Might, and Goodness, and who is a father, though the idea of Ōharmazd and Aḥarmēn as brothers is rejected.<sup>2</sup> In Turkish Manichaean documents Zrvan, under the name Āzrua, is clothed with five light-gods; he is the elder brother and the elder sister of all the gods of the light-heaven; as the princely King of the gods he has a daughter; and he is the father and King of the gods.<sup>3</sup>

Antiochus I of Commagene, in his inscription at Nimrūd Dāy, refers to 'boundless Time' (*ἄπειρος αἰών, χρόνος*, ll. 43, 112-3);<sup>4</sup> and in Mithraism Zrvan was identified with Kronos-Saturn.<sup>5</sup> Traces of the concept may exist in the Mandaean doctrine that Mānā Rabbā ('Great Vessel') and the Prince of Darkness both derive their origin from Pirā Rabbā ('Great Fruit');<sup>6</sup> and it may be suggested that the meaningless epithet ܡܢܐܢܐܝܢܐ applied to Ṭahmūrat in the Mandaean *Sidrā*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. J. Mohl, *Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*, Paris, 1829, n. 2; tr. J. A. Vullers, *Fragmente über die Religion des Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831, pp. 44-5, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 29, 55, 56, 74, 94, 102.

<sup>3</sup> Le Coq, *Manichaica*, i, 4, 22; ii, 25; iii, 15 (incidental references ib. iii, 2, 12, 30); Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, pp. 542-3 (cf. pp. 586-7, 125-6); R. Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse und die evangelische Ueberlieferung*, Heidelberg, 1919, p. 52; Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 342-3. The matter will be fully discussed by Jackson in his *Mani*.

<sup>4</sup> W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graecae inscriptiones selectae*, Leipzig, 1903-5, no. 383; cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 107-8; L. H. Gray, in *ERE* viii, 750.

<sup>5</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 19, 78, 294, 296, 301; cf. also pp. 20, 86, 316.

<sup>6</sup> W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 194.

*Rabbā*<sup>1</sup> should be read **רַבִּי זְרַוְנָה** ('the Zarvanite'), particularly as Perso-Arabic tradition regards this monarch as the King in whose reign idolatry, especially of the astrological type, was most rampant.<sup>2</sup> It is also possible that Zarvanism exercised some slight influence on Gnosticism, especially in the system of the younger Euchites who, between the eighth and tenth centuries, were transported to Thrace from their original home in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire (Armenia, Mesopotamia, and northern Syria).<sup>3</sup>

Zrvan's existence is possibly implied in the Gāṣic passages Ys. xxx, 3-6; xlv, 2.<sup>4</sup> Eudemus of Rhodes (c. 300 B.C.), as quoted by Damascius (*Dubitationes et solutiones*, 125<sup>bis</sup>), clearly refers to him under the name **χρόνος**; St. Basil the Great (*Epistolae*, cclviii, 4) expressly names *Ζαρβάν*; and Theodore of Mopsuestia, cited by Photius (*Bibliotheca*, lxxii, 81), describes *Ζουρνάμ* (also called *Τύχη*) as the 'ruler of all' (*ἀρχηγὸν πάντων*).<sup>5</sup>

Armenian literature frequently mentions Zrvan.<sup>6</sup> Moses of Khoren (i, 6) identifies him with Shem and makes Zradašt term him 'prince and father of the gods', while his reference to the *Oracula Sibyllina* (iii, 105) implies another identification with Kronos.<sup>7</sup> He is also mentioned by the Pseudo-Agathangelus,<sup>8</sup> and by Thomas Artsruni, who tells the stock tradition of the birth of Ormizd and Ahrmn from Zrvan,<sup>9</sup> his account following the one given in the decree said to have been addressed to the Armenians by Mihrnarses, the minister of Yazdigird II.<sup>10</sup> Zrvan

<sup>1</sup> Ed. S. Oehser, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xviii (1904), 74; tr. M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, Göttingen, 1925, pp. 411-2.

<sup>2</sup> Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O. Zöckler, in *PRE* xiii, 758-9. The text pertinent in this connexion is Psellus, *De Operatione Daemonum*, ii (most conveniently ed. by J. B. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxx, 824-5), to which attention has been called by Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 322. For other possible influence on Gnosticism (notably Pseudo-Clemens, *Homiliae*, xx, 2-3, and Philo, *In Genesis*, i, 100) see Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 136-44, 45, note 14.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Darmesteter, *ZA* i, 221, note 10; Moulton, *Treasure*, pp. 26-7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 131-3.

<sup>6</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 42, 506.

<sup>7</sup> Uxtanes of Urha (tr. M. Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens*, Petrograd, 1870, p. 212) identifies Zrvan with Ham.

<sup>8</sup> Tr. Langlois, *Collection*, i, 196.

<sup>9</sup> Tr. M. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, Petrograd, 1874-5, i, 19-22.

<sup>10</sup> Elisiaeus (tr. Langlois, *Collection*, ii, 190); Eznik, tr. Schmid, pp. 89-93; cf. H. Gelzer in *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie*, i (1903), 152-3; L. Mariès, in *REA* iv (1924), 151-2.

was likewise known to the Syriac writers, the notable texts here being the polemic in the *Acts of Ādur-hōrmīzd* and *Anāhēš*,<sup>1</sup> the statement in the *Acts of Pūsai* that 'Hōrmīzd is the brother of Satan',<sup>2</sup> the evidence of Theodore bar Khōnī,<sup>3</sup> and an allusion in a commentary of Mar Abbā on the rules of marriage.<sup>4</sup> The most dispassionate Oriental account of the Zervanite system is given by Sahrstānī,<sup>5</sup> and the fullest polemic against it is presented by Eznik.<sup>6</sup>

In modern Armenian folk-belief *Žuk* ('Time') rules the regular course of day and night;<sup>7</sup> and the concept of *Zamān* ('Time') as a mighty sovereign is frequent in the *Šāh-Nāmah* (e.g. pp. 78.13; 211.4-9; 324.10; 482.5; 503.3-4; 574.9-10; 589.8; 874.2; 909.5; 960.7; 981.6; 991.3; 1009.11; 1011.3). In the Atharva Veda (XIX, liii-liv) and in the Upaniṣads (*Svetāśvatara*, i. 2; vi, 1, 6 [cf. *Gauḍapāda*, *Kārikā*, i, 7-8]; *Maitri*, vi, 14-16), as well as in the *Mahābhārata* (e.g. I, i, 243-8; V, li, 56-8; VI, iii, 51-6; VII, clix, 69; VIII, li, 19; XI, ii, 24; XII, cccxiv; cccxvii; XVI, viii, 23), *Kāla* ('Time') appears as the cosmic factor Fate. The pagan Arabs had a deity 'Aud ('Time'),<sup>8</sup> and traces of Time as a cosmic principle are found in Greece.<sup>9</sup>

The word *zrvan-*, which, as the metre shows,<sup>10</sup> is to be read *zruvan-*, and which is glossed in the *Frahang-i-Oīm*<sup>11</sup> by *zamān* ('time'), is doubtless connected with the Avestan *zaurvan-*, 'old age, infirmities of senility', and *zaurura-*, *zarata-*, 'weak because of age'; while among its Iranian cognates are Modern Persian *zōl*, Yüdyā *zōr*, Afyān *zōr* (\**zarta-*, cf.

<sup>1</sup> T. Nöldeke, 'Syrische Polemik gegen die persische Religion', in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 34-8.

<sup>2</sup> Braun, *Akten*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Tr. Pognon, *Couperes*, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> O. Braun, 'Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der persischen Götterlehre', in *ZdmG* lvii (1903), 562-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850-1, i, 277-80.

<sup>6</sup> Tr. Schmid, pp. 89-112.

<sup>7</sup> Abeghian, *Volksglaube*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>8</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed. Berlin, 1897, p. 66; T. Nöldeke, in *ERF* i, 661-2; cf. Qur'an, xlv, 23.

<sup>9</sup> For the texts see H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2d ed., Berlin, 1906-10, pp. 13, 86, 276, 277, 476, 477, 506-7.

<sup>10</sup> Geldner, *Metrik*, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. H. Reichelt, Vienna, 1900, p. 28; ed. Hoshangji Jamaspji and M. Haug, Bombay, 1867, p. 30.

Avestan *zarātā-*), 'old man', Modern Persian *zarmān*, 'old man', Ōrmuṛī *zarkā*, 'woman', and Ossetic *zārond*, 'old'.<sup>1</sup> Here belong, further, Modern Persian *zar*, Armenian *cer* (\**gero-*), 'old man', and the entire group is cognate with Sanskrit *jar-*, 'to make old', *jarās-*, 'old age, decrepitude', Greek γέρων, 'old man', Old Church Slavīc *zrēti*, 'to ripen', etc.<sup>2</sup>

The basal form of the Avestan word is \**ġereyan-*, which in the double zero-grade becomes \**gr̥yan-*, for which one would expect \**zərēvan-*; while the first full-grade appears in Avestan *zarvan-* (written *zaurvan-*) and, with *man-* and *nt-*formatives respectively, in Modern Persian *zarmān* and Ossetic *zārond* (cf. respectively Sanskrit *jarimānam* [accusative singular], 'old age, decrepitude', and *jarant-*, 'old'). The base of the entire series is the Indo-European \**ġerē-*, 'to become old'.<sup>3</sup>

Following Spiegel and Darmesteter, Cumont has expressed the view<sup>4</sup> that Zrvan and Zarvanism are Babylonian in origin: and it is clear that in the historic period the deity was regarded as a god of fate, as when Theodore of Mopsuestia translated his name by Τόχη, or when Eznik rendered it by *baxt* ('fortune') and *p'ark* ('glory'), this obviously being the conception taught by MX xxvii, 10.

On the other hand, it seems perhaps more probable that he was a genuinely Iranian divinity. His associates in the pantheon are mostly celestial (cf. also Vd. xix, 13) and he is a creative god (Vd. xix, 29) besides being the father of Ahura Mazda and Anra Mainyu. It would not appear unreasonable to compare him with Zeus as *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (*Iliad*, i, 544; iv, 68; etc.; cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 47, 457, 468) and *θεῶν πάντων πατήρ* (Euripides, frag. 594, Nauck; cf. Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 275; Aeschylus, *Choephora*, 764-5),<sup>5</sup> or even, following the example of Moses of Khoren, with Kronos, who is termed γέρων in

<sup>1</sup> P. Horn, in *GirP* I, ii, 52; G. A. Grierson, 'The Ōrmuṛī or Bargistā Language', in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii (1918), 8, 19, 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> Persson, *Beiträge*, pp. 671-2, 756, 963; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i. 456; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 145; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 351-2; Miklosich, *Wörterbuch*, p. 402; Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *TM* i, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also his epithets γενέθλιος, γενετήρ, γενηταῖος, ζωοδότης, ζωοτόκος, παγγενέτης, παντογένηθλος (Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1114, note 1.)

Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, i, 383 ; ii, 565 ; xii, 45. If this hypothesis be correct, he was an ancient creator-god, comparable to the Indian Prajāpati or Viśvakarman.<sup>1</sup>

It is by no means certain that the deity's original name was Zrvan : and it may be suggested that this designation is an abbreviation of some cultic epithet, possibly \**akaranazrvan*-, 'possessing boundless age', the meaning 'age', rather than 'time', being shown by all the cognates except Old Church Slavic.<sup>2</sup> His importance is evident from the vogue which he enjoyed in the western type of Iranism, though he is shown by his initial *z* to be Avestan, not Old Persian in origin.<sup>3</sup> Apparently he was an amnestonymous creator-god ethicised in the Zoroastrian reform as Spənta Mainyu.<sup>4</sup> Whether he was an ancient deity superseded by the great sky-divinity Ahura Mazda, or whether, like Prajāpati and Viśvakarman, he was a later evolution of philosophic thought, is uncertain, though his high position beside Miśra in the Mithraic system would seem to favour his great antiquity.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE MINOR DIVINITIES.

THE multiplicity of divinities revered by the Iranians is clearly indicated by the last chapter of the *Haptaŋhāiti* (Ys. xlii), which records the worship of a host of deities, chiefly naturalistic : springs and fords ; the divergence and the convergence of roads ; the mountains whence the waters flow and the lakes into which they flow ; the fields ; the Guardian and the Creator (probably Miśra and Ahura Mazda) ;<sup>5</sup> Mazda and Zaruštra ; earth and sky ; the peaks of Haraiti ; earth and all things good ; Vohu Manah and the souls of the righteous : the

<sup>1</sup> Concerning these two divinities see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 118-9 ; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 206-8.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the Ōrmuri *zarkā*, 'woman', it is of interest to note that, beside the regular plural *zarki*, *zēli* ('old [women]') is often used, so that the word originally meant 'old (woman)'. Similarly the Balōči *zāl* borrowed from the Modern Persian *zal*, 'old man', means 'wife, woman' (Grierson, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-3, and *Linguistic Survey of India*, x [Calcutta, 1921], 323, 324 ; W. Geiger, *Etymologie des Balōči*, Munich, 1890, no. 419).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meillet, *Perse*, pp. 59-60, 66-9.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 105-6.

<sup>5</sup> Tiele (*Religion*, ii, 206, note 2), however, regarded them as Ahura Mazda and Aŋra Mainyu.

fish Vāsī and the ass Xara; the sea of Vouru-kaša; Haoma; the forward flowing of the waters and the forward flying of the birds; and even the return of the (missionary) priests.

Non-Iranian documents mention as Iranian still other deities of whom all record but the mere name has vanished. The Syriac *Acts of ʿĀdūq̄hormīzd* and the *Scholia* of Theodore bar Kōnī allude to ʿĀSVRQR, PRSVQR, and ZRVQR as divinities associated with Zurvān, and the *Acts of Anahēd* say that the mother of Hormīzd by Zurvān was KVSYZG (or KVSRYG, KVSYRG).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the Σάρδης described by Agathias (ii, 24) as the Persian Herakles seems to have been Cilician rather than Iranian.<sup>3</sup>

The lesser Iranian divine beings, so far as any data have survived concerning them, may now be considered in alphabetical sequence.

## 1. ĀDĀ.

In the Gāhās Ahura Mazda is entreated to give strength through Spēnta Mainyu by means of Ādā ('Requital'; Ys. xxxiii, 12), and Aša (or Ahura Mazda, or perhaps both) is besought to come with her (xlix, 1).<sup>4</sup> In the Younger Avesta she is associated with Aši (Ys. lxviii, 21) as well as with Cīsti and Drvatāt (Vsp. iv, 1), but no indication is given regarding her nature or functions.

## 2. ĀFRITI.

Although Āfriti ('Blessing'), whom Dhalla<sup>5</sup> considers a personification of the power of benediction, and who has exclusive use of the epithet *dahma-* ('pious'), is mentioned together with Dāmōiš Upamana (Ys. i, 15; ii, 15; iii, 17; iv, 20; vi, 14; vii, 17, 26; viii, 1; xvii, 15; xxii, 17) and once (Ys. lxx, 3) with Śraoša, Rašnu, Mišra, Vāta, and Daēnā, the only definite statement regarding her is that she manifested herself to Zaratuštra

<sup>1</sup> T. Nöldeke, in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 35, 36; Pognon, *Couper*, p. 111. These divinities will be considered in detail in Jackson's *Researches*.

<sup>2</sup> T. Nöldeke, in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 37. M. Lizdbarski, in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i (1902), records a proper name בְּרִישִׁירָה.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 131; Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, pp. 157, 264.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 40, 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Theology*, p. 118; so also Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 163.

in the form of a rutting camel (P. 32), whence it may be inferred that originally Āfriti was a component of a cultic epithet of some male deity, especially as Vərəθraϥna also assumes camel form (Yt. xiv, 11). According to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 27, Āfriti appears when the righteous pronounce benedictions and, to protect the good fortune won by virtuous action, she comes four times by day and night on the body of man, on the foliage of trees, and on the summits of mountains, bearing all weal of the world as far as earth extends, of rivers as far as they are prolonged, and of the sun as high as it rises. Āfriti occurs as a component of the proper names Baxtāfrit, Behāfrit, Burzāfrit, Gurdāfrit. Hormizāfrit, Māhāfrit, and Šāhāfrit.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. AHURĀNĪ.

This divine being, who, as her name shows, is 'related to Ahura' (perhaps as daughter or wife, or as both), is celebrated in the sixty-eighth Hā of the Yasna as conferring various blessings. Ys. lxvi, 1, adds that libations to her also please Ahura Mazda, the Amōša Spəntas, Sraoša, and Ātar; while Nīr. 48 states that sacrifices to her should be made by day, an offering at night being a heinous sin. In Ys. xxxviii, 3, the 'Ahurian waters' are worshipped: and since Ahura Mazda was originally a sky-god, these waters doubtless were the rain, so that Ahurānī would primitively have been a rain-deity,<sup>2</sup> possibly corresponding to the Indian Varuṇānī mentioned in RV I, xxii, 12; II, xxxii, 8; V, xlvi, 8; VII, xxxiv, 22, though with little information as to her functions.<sup>3</sup>

### 4. AIRYAMAN.

Airyaman ('Friend') is invoked in connexion with Aša and Saokā (Yt. iii, 0; Sir. i, 3; ii, 3; Vd. xx, 11) and is besought to come to the aid of the Zaratuštrians and of Vohu Manah (Ys. xxvii, 5; liv, 1). The chief Avestan source concerning him is Vd. xxii, which states that when Aṇra Mainyu had introduced 99,999 diseases into the world, Airyaman, at Ahura Mazda's bidding, descended to earth to heal them (§§ 2, 7-24). In the Turfan texts<sup>4</sup> *ariyāmān* is used as an epithet of Christ, probably as being a divine healer;<sup>5</sup> and according to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 29, Āir-

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 61, 348, 73, 121, 9, 184, 272, 483.

<sup>2</sup> See, in general, Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 141-2; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. exiii, however, identified her with 'Arədvī'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Carnoy, in *JAOS* xxxviii (1918), 294-5.

man cures all diseases, aiding in healing and collaborating with Artavahišt (Dk. III, clvii, 19, 20, 23). His one and exclusive epithet is *išya-* ('desirable'); and his Gāsic prayer, the *Airyā-mā išyō* (Ys. liv), forms part of the wedding ceremony.<sup>1</sup> Airyaman agrees in name with the Āditya Aryaman of the Veda, where the conception of him 'seems to have differed but little from that of the greater Āditya Mitra, "the Friend"',<sup>2</sup> though Hillebrandt,<sup>3</sup> while granting that Indian tradition regards him as the sun, considers him a deity of marriage and a divine wooer. It would appear, on the whole,<sup>4</sup> that Aryaman-Airyaman was primarily a form of the sun, who, like Apollo in Greece, Grannus and Belenus in Gaul,<sup>5</sup> and the Vedic Sūrya (RV X, xxxvii, 4), combined solar and healing functions; while his aspect as a wooer may have arisen from an early celestial myth now lost, representing the love of the sun for another heavenly body somewhat in the style of the Lithuanian *dāinos* of the wedding of the sun and moon.<sup>6</sup>

#### 5. AIWI-SRŪṢRIMA.

The special deity Aiwi-srūṣrīma ('Relating to the *Aiwi-srūṣra* Period'), who presides over the fourth period of the day, from sunset to midnight (Nir. 51; Bd. xxv, 9), is mentioned in Ys. i, 6, 20; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; G. iv, 1, 5, but with no detailed information except that he has the standing epithet *aibi-gāya-*, of uncertain meaning.<sup>7</sup>

#### 6. AMA.

Mentioned in lists with Huṣiti, Vərəθrayna, and Uparatāt (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; G. iv, 2; cf. Vsp. ix, 4), Ama ('Might') is especially associated with Vərəθrayna, whom he attends when the god of victory appears in the form of a bull or of a horse (Yt. xiv, 7, 9), and with whom

<sup>1</sup> Haug, *Essays*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 45; cf. Keith, *Religion*, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Mythologie*, iii, 77-90.

<sup>4</sup> For Airyaman generally see Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 119; and cf. de Harlez, *Avesta*, pp. xcvi-xcviii. Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 110, 177, regards him as 'the old Aryan god of tribalism'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1237-42; Farnell, *CQS* iv, 98-454; Hölder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 370-3, 2037-9, iii, 827-8; W. Drexler, 'Grannus', in Roscher, i, 1738-40; G. Wissowa, 'Belenos,' ib. i, 755-6; M. Ihm, in *PW* vii, 1823-7, iii, 199-201.

<sup>6</sup> W. Mannhardt, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii (1875), 316-7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bartholomæ, *AirWb.* coll. 94, 88.



he should be invoked in battle (Yt. xiv, 43-5). His epithets are *hutašta-* ('well-shaped') and *huraōda-* ('well-formed'), and he is plainly the special god of attack in battle.<sup>1</sup>

### 7. ANAŦRA RAOČAH.

The Yazata AnaŦra Raočah ('Light without Beginning') receives homage together with other celestial beings (Ys. i, 16; iii, 18; iv, 21; vii, 18; xxii, 18; lxxi, 9; G. iii, 6; cf. Ys. xvi, 6; Sir. i, 30; ii, 30; Vd. xi, 1, 2, 10) to whom the Fravašis showed the paths of right (Yt. xiii, 57), and he is a synonym for the highest heaven (HN ii, 15; cf. P. 38). In Gd. Bd. xxvi, 19, 24, Anīrān is an auxiliary of Šatvāirō and is beneficent and radiant, with a jewelled dwelling made by the celestial divinities, besides possessing all manner of wealth and being 'the extreme of exertion and listening' (?) (SIS xxii, 30; xxiii, 4). He presides over the last day of the month (Sir. i, 30; ii, 30; SIS xxii, 30; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24) and is obviously a deity of light.<sup>2</sup>

### 8. ĀŦHAIRYA.

The deity ĀŦhairya ('Relating to Parturient Women') mentioned only in Vsp. i, 3; ii, 3, seems to have been a birth-divinity<sup>3</sup>.

### 9. ANTARĀ-MĀH.

Antarā-māh ('Between-Moon' [i.e. 'New Moon']), the divinity of the new moon, is mentioned together with the other two special lunar deities Pərənō-māh and Vīšaptaša in Ys. i, 8; ii, 8; iii, 10; iv, 13; vi, 7; vii, 10; xvii, 7; xxii, 10; Ny. iii, 6; Yt. vii, 4. Although the Rig Veda has no special god of this type, the Atharva Veda (VII, lxxix) has a hymn to Amāvāsyā, the (goddess of the [?]) new moon, and Rākā is later a deity of this phase.<sup>4</sup>

### 10. APA M NAPĀT.

The Yazata Apam Napāt ('Child of the Waters') is associated with the Waters (Ys. i, 5; ii, 5; iii, 7; vi, 4; lxx, 6; G. iii, 8; Sir.

<sup>1</sup> Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 283, considers him to be simply 'the god . . . of strength or impetuosity'.

<sup>2</sup> For further details see Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 127-8.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 358 (cf., however, Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 162).

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, ii, 156-7.

i, 7; ii, 7); with Waters, Plants, the Aməša Spəntas, Miθra, Sraoša, Rašnu, Ātar, and all Yazatas (Ys. lxxv, 12); and with Ātar, Nairyō-saŋha, and Dāmōiš Upamana (Ys. lxxi, 23; Vsp. vii, 5). Sacrifice was offered to 'Arədvī' at a place sacred to him (Yt. v, 72); he is associated with Tištrya (Yt. viii, 4) and with Miθra (Yt. xiii, 95); he portions out the waters (Yt. viii, 34); he brings the Kingly Xvarənah to the depths of Vourukaša (Yt. xix, 51-2); and he is said to have created and formed mankind (Yt. xix, 52). With many other deities he shares the epithets *sūra-* ('mighty') and *bərəzant-* ('high'), the latter giving rise to the term Būrj, his name in the Pahlavi texts (Bd. vii, 3; xix, 15; ZS vi, 3; Pahlavi version of Ys. i, 5; ii, 5). He is *aurvaŋ-asp-* ('possessing swift horses') like Hvarə; *ahura-* ('lord') like Ahura Mazda and Miθra; *xšaēta-* ('shining') like the Aməša Spəntas; and *xšaθrya-* ('royal') like Ahura Mazda and Haoma; while he has exclusive use of the epithets *aršan-* ('virile'), *upāpa-* ('subaqueous'), *srūt-gaošōtəma-* ('possessing a most hearing ear'; cf. *srūt-gaoša-* as a distinctive epithet of Miθra), and *zavanō-sū-* ('helping at summons'; cf. the synonymous *zavanō-svan-* as a distinctive epithet of Miθra).

In the Pahlavi texts Būrj is an auxiliary of Arədvīvsūr, and his principal function is to apportion the waters among the Kēšvars (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 27). He is associated with the waters (Dk. IX, ix, 9); with Vohūman and Hōm he co-operates with Tištar (Bd. vii, 3; ZS vi, 3); and together with these three, as well as with Satvēs, Arədvīvsūr, Vāt, Dīn, and the Fravašis, he executes the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain, which he and the Fravašis distribute (Dk. III, cxii, 5). He is likewise mentioned in Bd. xix, 5; and in a Mandaean bowl he describes himself as 'the great primitive germ which Life hath sent' to destroy magic and demons, Mandaean writings elsewhere also terming him 'the primeval germ'.<sup>1</sup>

In Mithraism Apam Napāt was identified with Neptune;<sup>2</sup> and he seems to be represented, under the name ΔΠΟΟΑΧΠΟ, on an Indo-Scythian coin of Kaniska, where he appears as a bearded, diademed god facing right, wearing a sleeved tunic and holding a garland in his right hand, while a saddled horse trots beside him.<sup>3</sup> His name was given to the eighth month

<sup>1</sup> Pognon, *Coupees*, nos. 22, 23, and p. 95; W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 30-2.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 142.

<sup>3</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 3-4 and fig. iii; Cumont, *TM* i, 135, however, reads ΔΠΟΟΑΧΠΟ and regards the figure as that of Drvāspā (so also von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 189, and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 150).

of the Cappadocian calendar (Ἀπομενζ, Ἀπονενζμζ, Ἀπονεμενζμζ Ἀπομενζμζ, etc.), as well as to the twenty-sixth day of each Armenian month, and was borne not only by the Persian leader Νιζάρης who fell at the Granicus in 334, but also, if the reading is correct, by Npat, a prince of Persis in the first century of our era.<sup>1</sup> The names Ὀρονδάτης and Arvāndād,<sup>2</sup> for \*Aurvaṭ-aspa-dāta, may refer either to Apām Napāt or to Hvarə; and it also seems wisest not to decide the question as to the origin of the Armenian mountain-name Npat, the Νιζάρης, of the Greeks and the modern Ala Dāγ.<sup>3</sup>

The Iranian 'Child of the Waters' obviously corresponds to the Vedic Apām Napāt,<sup>4</sup> and he was clearly a deity of water. Dhalla holds<sup>5</sup> that 'this Indo-Iranian divinity of waters seems very early to have been eclipsed by Anahita'. It is at least certain, from his celestial associates Tīštrya and Miśra, from his epithets shared only with Ahura Mazda, the Aməša Spəntas, Miśra, Haoma, and Hvarə, and from the naming of a month in his honour, that he was once a god of more importance than the extant texts would lead us to suppose. Yet his subordinate appellation, 'Child of the Waters', and the presence of the great water-deities Varuṇa in India and 'Arədvī' in Iran scarcely permit the assumption that he was ever a sovereign aqueous divinity; and it would seem that he was only a special god of the waters, probably as bringing fertility to the world. The resemblance of the meaning of his name to that of the Sumerian Dumuzi-zu-aba ('Unchangeable Child of the Watery Deep'), a local divinity of a place apparently situated on an arm of the Euphrates,<sup>6</sup> is probably a chance coincidence.

According to Herodotus (iv, 59), the Royal Scyths worshipped a deity identified with Poseidon and called Θρυμζσάδζς (variant Θρυμζσάδζ; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi, 39, reads Θρυμζσάδζ). The second component of the name may per-

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 229; de Morgan, *Numismatique*, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 234 (cf. also pp. 41-2); Braun, *Akten*, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 457.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 69-71; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 135-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Theology*, p. 141; cf. Moulton, *EZ* p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> Jastrow, *Religion*, p. 96.

haps mean 'greatness',<sup>1</sup> but the first part is quite obscure.<sup>2</sup> The cult of water is also found among the modern Armenians.<sup>3</sup>

## 11. ĀPŌ.

The 'Waters' (Āpō) are listed among the deities in Ys. i, 5, 12, 16; ii, 5, 12, 16; iii, 3, 7, 14, 18; iv, 10, 17, 21; vi, 11; vii, 3, 7, 14, 18; xvi, 4; xvii, 4, 12; xxxviii, 5; lxxv, 9; lxxviii, 7; Ny. iv, 0. Zərəθuštra is bidden to pray to them, among other divine beings (Ys. lxxv, 10, 3); they surround the chariot of Miθra together with the Plants (Urvarā) and the Fravašis of the righteous (Yt. x, 100), and the Fravašis show them their paths (Yt. xiii, 53-4); they preside over the tenth day of each month (Šir. i, 10; ii, 10), but the demon Maršavan prevents them from receiving the homage which is their due (Vd. xviii, 9). Sacrifice to them beautifies the soul (HN ii, 13); they give of their glory to him who makes offerings to them (VYt. 8); but sacrifice to them may be made only between sunrise and sunset, oblations at any other time being a most grievous sin (Nir. 48; cf. 67, 69, 70). The cult of waters is also found in the Veda.<sup>4</sup>

## 12. ARŠTĀT.

Once mentioned in association with Sraoša (Ys. lvii, 33), the goddess Arštāt, or Aršti ('Rectitude'), is usually invoked with him and Rašnu (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12; vi, 6; vii, 9; xvii, 6; xxii, 9); or with Miθra, Dāta, and Rašnu (Yt. x, 139); or with Rašnu and Maθra Spənta (Yt. xii, 40; Šir. i, 18; ii, 18); or with Mount Uši-darəna (Šir. i, 26; ii, 26). She is once iden-

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 502. On the other hand, the second member may equally well be -σδδς (cf. the Bosphoran name Πισισδδης, Sanskrit *sad-*, Doric *κέκσδμυ* 'to surpass, excel', and see Kretschmer, *Einführung*, pp. 215-6; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 428).

<sup>2</sup> K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1870-1900, iii, 116, connected it with *zam-*, 'earth' (cf. such epithets of Poseidon as γαίφοχος and κοίρνος γαίης), but the phonetic relations are impossible. G. Nagy, quoted by Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6, regards the whole name as Turkish, comparing Turkish *tengiz*, Magyar *tenger*, 'sea', and Turkish *ata*, Magyar *atyá*, 'father'. The fantastic guesses of J. Fressl, *Die Skythen-Saken*, Munich, 1886, pp. 124-6, do not deserve consideration.

<sup>3</sup> Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 59-61.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 153-5; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 85-6; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 141-2.

tified with Daēnā (Vsp. vii, 2), and she presides over the twenty-sixth day of each month (Šīr. i, 26; ii, 26; Sīs xxii, 26; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). In the Old Persian inscriptions Darius declares that he walked according to Arštā.<sup>1</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Aštāt is an auxiliary of Amerōdat, guiding celestial and terrestrial beings, and with Zamyāt she weighs the soul at the Činvaṭ Bridge (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 38). She is associated with Mitrō (Dk. IX, xx, 4); with Rašn (SD lxxxvii, 2; Dk. IX, ix, 6); with these two and Vāi, Vāhrām, and Dīn (AVN v, 3); with Mitrō, Rašn, Vāhrām, and Daēnayā Xvarənah (BYt. iii, 32); and—in the cult of the dead—with Rašn, Vāi, and the Fravašis (Sīs xvii, 4). She aids champions and is distinguished for purity (Sīs xxii, 26; xxiii, 4).

The exclusive Avestan epithets of Arštāt are *varədat-agēša-* ('increasing creatures') and *savō-gaēša-* ('possessing advantage for creatures'). Arštāt occurs as a proper name in the Āvramān Papyrus, and Aštāt as the name of Persians.<sup>2</sup>

She appears to be an abstract special goddess of uprightness and justice like the Greek Dike or the Roman Iustitia,<sup>3</sup> though the parallel must not be pressed too far since the Hellenic divinity may have been primarily a deity of light,<sup>4</sup> while the Roman goddess is first known only in the Imperial period.<sup>5</sup>

### 13. ARṬĀI-FRAVART.

The goddess Arṭai-Fravart ('Holy Fravaši'), representing the Fravašis collectively,<sup>6</sup> is mentioned in ZS xvi, 3, as sent, together with Spendarmat and Arēdvīvsūr, by Aūharmazd to aid the infant Zaratūšt.

### 14. ASAN.

The deity Asan ('Sky') is invoked together with Zam, Vāta, and other nature-divinities (Ys. i, 16; iii, 18; iv, 21; vii, 18;

<sup>1</sup> For the establishment of the text see Jackson, *PPP* pp. 203-5; for the deity generally cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 112; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 83; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 20; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1080; L. von Sybel, in Roscher, i, 1018-20.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 180-1, 197.

<sup>5</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 333; H. W. Stoll, in Roscher, ii, 762; Waser, in *PW* v, 574-8; Lathe, *ib.*, x, 1339.

<sup>6</sup> E. W. West, in *SBE* xlvi, 145, note 2.

xvi, 6; xxii, 18; xlii, 3; Śir. i, 27; ii, 27). He evidently represents the physical sky.<sup>1</sup> The name literally means 'stone' and may be compared with the Greek ἄκμων, 'anvil', which Hesychius also glosses by ὀρθρὸς (cf. likewise the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s. v. ἄκμων), besides perhaps recurring in the *āsmān-* of RV VII, lxxxviii, 2.<sup>2</sup> In Bd. xii, 6, and MX ix, 7, the sky is said to be made of ruby or diamond, and it is injured by the gaze of a menstruous woman (AVN lxxii, 6). According to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 23, Asman is an auxiliary of Śatva-īrō, having the form of a sphere and checking the invasion of Ahriman. He presides over the twenty-seventh day of each month (Śir. i, 27; ii, 27; SIS xxii, 27; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24), and, bestowing all skill and wealth, he is distinguished for loftiness (SIS xxii, 27; xxiii, 4). His name forms part of that of Asmandūx ('Daughter of Asmān'),<sup>3</sup> and a synonym is found in the Old Persian Σπιθρζδάρης ('Heaven-Given').<sup>4</sup>

### 15. ASNYA.

The name Asnya ('Relating to the Day') is given collectively to the deities presiding over the five divisions of the day: Hāvani, Rapiṣvina, Uzayeirina, Aiwisrūṣrima, and Uṣahina (Ys. i, 3, 17; ii, 3, 17; iii, 5; iv, 8; vi, 2; vii, 5; xvii, 2; xxii, 5).

### 16. ĀXŠTI.

The goddess Āxšti ('Peace') is named in association with Vohu Manah (Yt. ii, 1, 6; Śir. i, 2; ii, 2), with Ārmaiti (P. 26), and with Savah (Yt. xv, 1; cf. Vsp. vii, 1). She has as her exclusive epithet *hām-vainti-* ('conquering'), but in Yt. xi, 15, she is apparently distinct from *Hām-vainti*, the pair being described as the two companions of various divinities.<sup>5</sup> Āxšti is clearly the deity of victorious peace,<sup>6</sup> conquering the demon

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *ZIIV* p. 173, note 1; Bergaigne, *Religion*, i, 241; A. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rgveda*, Göttingen, 1913, p. 78, note 9; against this H. Oldenberg, *Rgveda: Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, Berlin, 1909-12, ii, 61; K. Geldner, *Der Rgveda in Auswahl*, Stuttgart, 1907-9, i, 19; ii, 114.

<sup>3</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, xii, 1; xvi, 1; xxxi, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 310.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. F. Wolff, *Avesta . . . übersetzt*, Strasbourg, 1910, p. 224, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 115.

Anāxšti (Ys. ix, 5); and she finds more or less close analogues in the Greek Eirene, the Roman Pax, the Norse Freyr, and the Lithuanian Derfintos.<sup>1</sup>

### 17. AYARA.

The name Ayara ('Relating to the Day') is applied collectively to the thirty deities who preside, each in turn, over one day of the month (Ys. i, 17; ii, 17; iii, 24; xvii, 17).

### 18. AYĀΘRIMA.

Ayāθrima ('Home-Coming'), the divinity of the fourth of the six year-divisions, *i.e.*, of the thirty days theoretically ending October 3, originally ruled over the return of the shepherd and his flocks,<sup>2</sup> and is mentioned with the five other similar special gods (Maiḍyōi-zarəmayā, Maiḍyōišam, Paitiš-habya, Maiḍyā-irya, and Hamaspaθmaēḍaya) in Ys. i, 9; ii, 9; iii, 11; iv, 14; vi, 8; vii, 11; xvii, 8; xxii, 11; Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2; Afr. iii, 2 (cf. iii, 10). He has as his exclusive epithets *fraourvāēštrima*-('having the ingathering [of the herds]') and *varšniharšta*-('ram-freeing').

### 19. ĀZŪITI.

The goddess Āzūiti ('Fatness') is mentioned only in the Gāhās and Haptaθhāiti. Together with Iḏā she will be his who unites with Vohu Manah (Ys. xlix, 5), and she is one of the wives of Ahura Mazda (xxxviii, 1-2).<sup>3</sup>

### 20. BĀMYĀ.

The female deity Bāmyā ('Radiant') guides the car of Miθra (Yt. x, 143) and on the third night after death she shines before the righteous as Miθra ascends the mountains (Vd. xix, 28). In Manichaeism she becomes a god in whose honour a hymn is still preserved,<sup>4</sup> and who is termed 'friend of light'.<sup>5</sup> She is obviously the Dawn,<sup>6</sup> and thus corresponds to such divinities as

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1082; L. von Sybel, in Roscher, i, 1221-2; Waser, in *PW* v, 2128-34; Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 334-45; Mogk, *Mythologie*, p. 93; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 251, considers her a divinisation of the sacrifice.

<sup>4</sup> Le Coq, *Manichaica*, ii, 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> F. C. Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 955.

the Vedic Uṣas,<sup>1</sup> being a doublet of the Iranian Ušah.<sup>2</sup> Her name seems to be an abbreviation of Bāmyā (Ušā), 'Radiant (Dawn)'.

## 21. BĒRĒJYA.

Mentioned between Ušahina and Nmānya (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12; vi, 6; vii, 9; xvii, 6; xxii, 9; cf. G. v, 5-6), Bērējya ('He who is to be Welcomed') had as his function, according to the Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 7, the increase of the 'grain-herd', to which Neryosang adds that he 'is beneficially active in the midst among men who are overseers of the laws of towns'. The etymological cognates of the name are uncertain, but it may possibly be connected with the Old Church Slavic *blagŭ*, 'good'.<sup>3</sup> In function the deity may perhaps be compared, at least in part, with the Old Latin Ceres (almost wholly supplanted by his female counterpart, Ceres), a god of the growth of grain,<sup>4</sup> and by the Lithuanian *Želus*, who was honoured that the grass might grow.<sup>5</sup>

## 22. ČISTĀ.

The goddess Čistā ('Taught, Converted' [?]) is celebrated in the sixteenth Yašt, which is rather significantly called the Dīn Yašt. Here we learn that Zaratuštra gained from her physical strength and keenness of vision, while priests and rulers similarly received power (§§ 5-13, 16-9). She is identified with Daēnā (§ 1); and, white and clad in white, she, identified (?) with Daēnayā<sup>2</sup> Upamana, attends on the left of Miθra's chariot, Rašnu having the corresponding position on the right (Yt. x, 126). She is associated with Hvarə, Vayu, and Daēnā (Ys. 0, 9; xxii, 24; xxv, 5; cf. Ny. i, 8), and with Daēnā alone (Sīr. i, 24; ii, 24); and like many other divinities she has Āxšti and Hām-vaintī as her two companions (Yt. xi, 16). She has a surprising wealth of special epithets in the Avesta: *āsu-kairyā-* and *mošu-kairyā-* ('possessing swift action'), *huai-witačina-* ('possessing a good onset'), *hunāravant-* ('skilful'), *hupaṭmainya-* ('possessing good paths'), and *hvāyaozda-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 46-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 119-22.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, i, 69.

<sup>4</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 192 sqq., and in Roscher, i, 867.

<sup>5</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 105; cf. also Lithuanian *želdinti*, 'to plant, make grow'. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 300, note, suggests that Bērējya was perhaps originally a name of the morning star.



'possessing good battle'), besides sharing *frasrūta-* ('famous') with Mišra and the Fravašis, *razišta-* ('most up-right') with Rašnu, and *hv̥yaona-* ('possessing a good place') with Vərəθrayna.

Čistā's association with Mišra, her power of keen vision (the morning bringing to light what night has hidden), her epithet *hupašmainya-*, and her place opposite Rašnu with Mišra in the centre, suggest that she was the morning star. She would, then, bear at least a partial resemblance to the dadophoric Caut, who, with uplifted torch, is represented in many sculptures as one of the two figures standing beside the tauroctonous Mišra, and who almost certainly represents the morning star.<sup>1</sup> A more plausible interpretation, however, would be the planet Venus in her aspect of morning star, such an identification explaining the various characteristics of Čistā which are set forth in the Avesta, as well as her sex and her rather striking epithets *huaiwitačina-* and *hv̥yaozda-*. She would thus correspond not merely to the modern Armenian Lois Astl ('Light-Star'), the planet Venus who precedes the dawn,<sup>2</sup> but, even more closely, to the Babylonian Istar and the Greek Aphrodite, who were not only the planet Venus but also, *inter alia*, divinities of war.<sup>3</sup> It is, indeed, not improbable that Čistā found her origin in the Babylonian goddess.

Whether, as Bartholomae holds,<sup>4</sup> the name Čistā is an abstract noun from the Avestan base *kaēt-*, 'to consider, reflect' so that it means 'insight', seems dubious. It may equally well be a feminine passive participle from the base *kaēθ-*, 'to teach, convert', in which case Čistā would be the 'Converted Lady', i.e., converted from originally unorthodox standing, perhaps as having been a divinity of Babylonia, whence the name would have been primarily an epithet of an amnestonymous female deity.<sup>5</sup>

The Scyths, according to Herodotus (iv, 59), worshipped a goddess whom he identified with Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανίη and who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *Le Muséon*, 1915, 189-91. For a possible identification of Caut with Sraoša see above, pp. 109-10.

<sup>2</sup> Abeghian, *Volks-glaube*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 958-60, 1359-60; L. B. Paton, in *ERE* vii, 431-2.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 599.

<sup>5</sup> For other possible instances see above, pp. 25-7, 34-5, etc. It may be noted, however, that the Sanskrit *cittam* ('thought'; neuter) is personified in *Taittiriya Samhitā*, I, iv, 361.

was called Ἀρτίμπασα (variant Ἀρίππασα; Origin, *Contra Celsum*, vi, 39, has the form Ἀργίμπασα, and Hesychius Ἀρτιμήσασα)<sup>1</sup>. Passing over older etymologies,<sup>2</sup> Marquart<sup>3</sup> explains the Scythian name as equivalent to \*argind-pas-, 'protecting cattle'; Schrader<sup>4</sup> as for \*aryama-pasa-, 'strong-armed'; the present writer has thought, very hesitatingly, of the name as for \*rtam-(s)pasa-, 'beholding the right';<sup>5</sup> and G. Nagy<sup>6</sup> would connect it with Cuman *erdeng*, 'maiden', and Mordvin *paz*, 'god'. No conclusion seems as yet to be possible.

### 23. ČISTI.

The divine being Čisti ('Religious Wisdom') is named in company with other abstract deities: Aši, Frēti, Rasa-stāt, X'arenah, and Savah (Ys. i, 14; iii, 16; iv, 19; vii, 16; xxii, 16); or Adā, Aši, and Drvatāt (Vsp. iv, 1); or Aši, Paurvatāt, and Uparatāt (Vsp. ix, 4; cf. Vd. xix, 39). Like Aši and Ahura Mazda she possesses healing remedies (Vsp. ix, 1), and like several other divinities she has Axšti and Hām-vainti as her two companions (Yt. xi, 16). She is one of the names of Ahura Mazda (Yt. i, 7), but her only epithet is the conventional and colourless *amavant*-('mighty'). The corresponding Sanskrit equivalent, Cīti, is used as a proper name only for the wife of Atharvan, by whom she became the mother of Dadhyañe (Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, IV, i, 42). Čisti seems to have been of the same type of abstract goddesses as the Greek Sophia or Sophrosyne.<sup>7</sup>

### 24. DAHYUMA.

The divinity Dahyuma ('Relating to the Land'), who may be regarded as the nation-god, is mentioned in company with

<sup>1</sup> A Greek inscription from Italy mentioning Artimpasa (*Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, xiv [Berlin, 1890], 85\*) is regarded as spurious.

<sup>2</sup> K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Munich, 1837, p. 290; K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1870-1900, iii, 120; cf. also O. Jessen, in *PW* ii, 1454.

<sup>3</sup> In *Philologus*, Supplementband x (1905), 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Sprachvergleichung*, ii, 485.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sanskrit *paś*-, Albanian *pašë*, 'to see,' dialectic Russian *zapaśati*, 'to foresee', Avestan *spas*-, 'to see', 'Greek σκέπτομαι (for \*σπέκτομαι), Latin *specio*, Old High German *spehōn*, 'to see, spy' (Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 873-4. Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch* ii, 559-60).

<sup>6</sup> Cited by Minns, *Scythians*, p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1078; O. Höfer, in Roscher, iv, 1212-5; Türk, in *PW* 2 Series, v, 1106-7; and see Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 101.

Uzayeirina, Frādaṭ-vīra, Apām Napāt, and the Waters in Ys. i, 5; ii, 5; iii, 7; iv, 10; vi, 4; vii, 5; xvii, 4; xxii, 7; G. iii, 1-2 (cf. also iii, 6, 7, and Vsp. i, 9), but no details are given concerning him.

## 25. DĀMŌIŠ UPAMANA.

The obscure "Upamana" of the Creator (*i.e.*, Ahura Mazda), which otherwise belongs only to Daēnā (Yt. x, 126), is named together with Āfriti (Ys. i, 15; ii, 15; iii, 17; iv, 20; vi, 14; vii, 17; xvii, 15; xxii, 17; lxxi, 19; cf. viii, 1; xvii, 26; lxxi, 23; Sir. i, 30; ii, 30). He is also associated with Miśra, Rašnu, and Vāta (Yt. viii, 47-8); with Vāta, X'arənah, and Savah he comes with Ahura Mazda (Yt. xii, 4) or Rašnu (Yt. xii, 6) to the sacrifice; he accompanies Miśra and Vāta (Yt. x, 9), attending the former together with Aši, Pārəndi, Hām-varəti, X'arənah, ōwāsa, and the Fravašis (Yt. x, 66); he speeds Miśra on his way (Yt. x, 68); and in the form of a boar he, with Ātar, comes behind (?) Miśra's chariot, on whose left are Čistā and Daēnayā Upamana, while on its right is Rašnu (Yt. x, 126-7). His only epithets are the colourless *uγra-* ('strong') and *taxmā-* ('sturdy'). His boar-form recalls the similar *avatar* of Vərəθraγna (Yt. x, 70; xiv, 15).

The etymology of the word *upamana-*, which might cast light upon the deity's nature, is very uncertain. In addition to the theories already advanced,<sup>1</sup> it may be connected either with Avestan *mana-*, 'measure, mode, qualification' (cf. also *amana-*, 'unqualified,' and Sanskrit *upamāna-*, 'likeness, resemblance'), or with its homonym *mana-*, 'will' (appearing in *anā-mana-*, *hača-mana-*, 'according to will'; cf. Sanskrit *upamanyū-*, 'zealous, striving'), or with Greek *ὑπομένω*, 'to stay behind, abide', *ὑπομνή*, 'residue, abiding'.<sup>2</sup> All that can be affirmed at present, however, with the slightest degree of certainty is that Dāmōiš Upamana and Daēnayā Upamana represent some sub-quality or sub-aspect of Ahura Mazda and of Daēnā.<sup>3</sup>

## 26. DĀTA.

Dāta, the apotheosis of the divine 'Law', is mentioned together with Māšra Spənta, Upanayanā, and Daēnā in Ys. i,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 392.

<sup>2</sup> For cognates of the Greek group see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 627.

<sup>3</sup> Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 118-9, regards Dāmōiš Upamana as personifying the power of anathema.

13; ii, 13; iii, 15; iv, 18; vi, 12; vii, 15; xvii, 13; xxii, 15; and finds a parallel in the 'Orphic' deification Νόμος (e.g., *Hymni Orphici*, lxiv).<sup>1</sup>

## 27. DRVATĀT.

The abstract deity Drvatāt ('Soundness') is associated with Ādā, Aši, and Čisti (Vsp. iv, 1) and clearly refers to bodily vigour (cf. Ys. lvii, 26; Yt. xiii, 134, etc.), having analogues in the Greek Hygieia and the Roman Valetudo.<sup>2</sup>

## 28. FRĒTI.

The abstract goddess Frēti ('Energy') is named in company with Aši, Čisti, Rasastāt, Xvarənah, and Savah (Ys. i, 14; iii, 16; iv, 19; vii, 16; xxii, 16; Sir. i, 25); or with Aši, Čisti, Paurvatāt, and Uparatāt (Vsp. ix, 4). She shares the epithet *amavant*-('mighty') with several other divinities; but nothing further is recorded concerning her, though Dhalla<sup>3</sup> regards her as a minor deity of truth. Her name corresponds etymologically to the Sanskrit *ṛti*-, 'attack,' which, however, is not a divine appellative.

## 29. FĒRAŠTI.

The deity Fērašti ('Teachability') is once mentioned (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) as one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

## 30. FRĀDAṬ-FŠU.

The special god Frādaṭ-fšu ('Furthering Small Cattle'), presiding over the increase of small cattle, is named between Rapišwina and Zantuma, who are followed by Aša and Ātar, in Ys. i, 4; ii, 4; iii, 6; iv, 9; vi, 3; vii, 6; xvii, 3; xxii, 6; and the Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 4, describes him as 'a spirit co-operating with Rapišwin and increasing the herd of small cattle'. He finds a counterpart in the Lithuanian Gotha, the divinity of the increase of cattle (cf. Lithuanian *guótas*, 'herd'),<sup>4</sup> as well as in the Slavic Volosū, the god of flocks.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1080; Wagner, in Roscher, iii, 455.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1069; Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 308, note 10; E. Thraemer, in *ERE* vi, 551-2, 555, and in Roscher, i, 2772-92; Tamborino, in *PW* ix, 93-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Theology*, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Leger, *Mythologie*, pp. 111-6; Brückner, *Mitologia*, pp. 119-40.

## 31. FRĀDAṬ-VĪRA.

The special god Frādaṭ-vīra ('Furthering Man'), ruling over the increase of the human race, is named between Uzayeirina and Dāhyuma, who are followed by Apām Napāt and Āpah, in Ys. i, 5; ii, 5; iii, 7; iv, 10; vi, 4; vii, 7; xvii, 4; xxvii, 7; and the Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 5, states that 'he will increase the herd of men'.

## 32. FRĀDAṬ-VISPAM-HUJYĀTI.

The special god Frādaṭ-vispām-hujyāti ('Furthering All Comfort'), 'the furtherer of all amenity' (Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 6), is mentioned between Aiwisrūθrima and Zaratuštrōtəma, who are followed by the Fravašis, Hušiti, Ama, Vərəθrayna, and Uparatāt, in Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; but with no details concerning his activity.

## 33. FRASASTI.

The deity Frasasti ('Fame') is once named (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) as one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

## 34. FŠĒRATŪ.

The abstract divinity Fšēratū ('[Eschatological] Reward') is mentioned in the Haptaθhāiti in association with Vohu Manah, Xšaθra, Daēnā, and Ārmaiti (Ys. xxxvii, 5), as well as with Aša and Ārmaiti (Ys. xxxix, 5; cf. xiii, 6). In the Gāθās (Ys. xxxiii, 12; liv, 4) the word is used as a common noun. Her name is explained in the Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions as meaning 'lordship',<sup>1</sup> but no details are recorded concerning her.

## 35. GAOKƏRENA.

The mythic plant or tree Gaokərəna ('Ox-Horn' [?]), identified with the White Hōm (cf. Bd. ix, 6; xviii, 1-6; xxiv, 27; xxvii, 4; DD xlvi, 16; Dk. VIII, xlv, 80), receives honour (Yt. i, 30; ii, 3; Šīr. ii, 7). This seems to be a trace of the tree-cult existing in Vedic India,<sup>2</sup> as well as in Armenia<sup>3</sup> and among the

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1027; see also Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt*, p. 28, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Maedonell, *Mythology*, p. 154; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 184-5; Oldenberg, *Religion*, pp. 91-2, 255-61.

<sup>3</sup> Abeghian, *Volks-glaube*, pp. 58-61.

Greeks and Romans,<sup>1</sup> the Celts,<sup>2</sup> the Teutons,<sup>3</sup> and the Balto-Slavs.<sup>4</sup> The identification of the Gaokərəna is wholly uncertain, although Sanskrit lexicographers apply the name *gokarṇā* to the *Sansevieria zeylanica* (bow-string hemp).<sup>5</sup>

### 36. GĒUŠ TAŠAN.

In the Gāthās the divinity Gēuš Tašan ('Shaper of the Ox'), who belongs to Ahura Mazda (Ys. xxxi, 9), holds colloquy with Aša concerning the hardships inflicted upon kine (xxix, 1-5, 6 [?]; cf. xlvi, 9).<sup>6</sup> In the Haptaŋhāiti he is mentioned together with Gēuš Urvan (Ys. xxxix, 1), and in the Younger Avesta either immediately after the Aməša Spəntas and before Atar (Ys. i, 2; lxx, 2), or after Haurvatāt and Amərətāt and before Atar and Haḍis (Vsp. ix, 2), or with Drvāspā (Sīr. i, 14). No details are recorded concerning him, but from his association with the Aməša Spəntas and Atar it would appear that he was once a deity of much importance, and Moulton even suggested<sup>7</sup> that he replaced Miθra. It is more probable, however, that, as Bartholomae held,<sup>8</sup> he was the counterpart of the Vedic Tvaṣṭr, who shaped all forms and cattle (RV I, clxxxviii, 9; AV II, xxvi, 6; IX, iv, 6)<sup>9</sup>, and who was associated with kine (RV I, lxxxiv, 15), a general Iranian creator-god being specialised, with the rise of Ahura Mazda, into a creator of cattle.<sup>10</sup> If this conclusion be correct, Gēuš Tašan finds analogues in such deities as the Ossetic Kurdalāgon,<sup>11</sup> the Slavic Svarogū,<sup>12</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> C. Boetticher, *Ueber den Baumkultus der Hellenen und Römer*, Berlin 1856.

<sup>2</sup> MacCulloch, *Religion*, pp. 198-206.

<sup>3</sup> W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1875-8.

<sup>4</sup> Leger, *Mythologie*, pp. 73-5; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 113; cf. also Hirt, *Indogermanen*, pp. 738-9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. W. Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*, Calcutta, 1874, p. 292.

<sup>6</sup> See, further, above, pp. 19, 79-80, 82, 98.

<sup>7</sup> *Poetry*, p. 91; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 186, terms him an Ahura.

<sup>8</sup> *Forschungen*, iii, 25-9; for the relation of Gēuš Tašan to Ahura Mazda see also Baunack, *Studien*, i, 383-4.

<sup>9</sup> For Tvaṣṭr see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 115-8; Muir, *OST* v, 224-33; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 204-6.

<sup>10</sup> It seems scarcely necessary, however, to follow Bartholomae (*Forschungen*, iii, 29) in regarding the deity also as a mediator between gods and men, bearing commands from the former to the latter. Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 44-5, 125-6, believes that he personifies the creative genius of Ahura Mazda.

<sup>11</sup> H. Hübschmann, in *ZdmG* xli (1887), 535.

<sup>12</sup> Brückner, *Mitologia*, pp. 100-2, 108, 112; Krek, *Einleitung*, pp. 378-80.

smith-aspect of the Greek Hephaistos.<sup>1</sup> He seems to reappear in Manichaeism as 'great Ban' ('Builder'; cf. Hebrew בנה, Syriac *benā*, Arabic *banā*, 'to build').<sup>2</sup>

### 37. HAΔIŠ.

The divinity Hađiš ('Home') is named thrice in the Vis-prāt (i, 9; ii, 11; ix, 5), but with no indications of function except the epithets *ašivant-* ('possessing rewards'), shared with Sraoša; *vāstravant-* ('possessing pastures'), shared with Hušiti; *vābravant-* ('possessing well-being'), shared with Ahura Mazda, Ušah, and the Fravašis; and the exclusive *marēdika-vant-* ('compassionate'). In the Dinkart (VII, i, 12-13) he is sent by Aūharmazd to Masyē and Masyāōi to obtain bread and corn from them and to bless theirs; and the Pahlavi version of Vsp. i, 9; ii, 11, renders Hađis by *mīnō-ī-xānak* ('spirit of the house'). The word *hađiš* is originally a neuter meaning 'seat, home' (Old Persian *hađiš-*, 'palace'; cf. Sanskrit *sīdas-*, 'seat, place, abode, assembly', Greek *ἔδος*, 'seat, abode'),<sup>3</sup> but coming to denote the spirit presiding over the welfare of the home. The divinity bears at least a partial resemblance to the Lithuanian Dimstipatis ('Lord of the House') or to Šeimės Diėvas ('God of the Household'), as well as to the Lettish Mājas Kungs ('Lord of the House').<sup>4</sup>

### 38. HAMASPAΘMAĒΔAYA.

The deity Hamaspaθmaēdaya, the meaning of whose name is unknown, but who presides over the sixth (and last) division of the year, the seventy-five days theoretically ending March 7, is mentioned only in association with the five other similar special gods.<sup>5</sup> In Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2, he has the distinctive epithet *aratō-karāθna-* ('possessing fulfilment of [religious] duty') because of the festival at the end of the year in honour of the dead, but no further details are recorded concerning him.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1309-10.

<sup>2</sup> For this divinity see A.V.W. Jackson, in *JRAS* 1924, pp. 146-9. Connexion of the name with Avestan *bānu-*, 'beam of light, radiance', Sanskrit *bhānū-*, 'light, sun', seems less probable.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 532-4.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 89, 102, 107-8, cf. pp. 110-11. For the Iranian deity see also Darmesteter, *Etudes*, ii, 201-3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Section on Ayāgrima (above, p. 139) and see also *Āfr.* iii, 12.

<sup>6</sup> N. Söderblom, *Les Fravashis*, Paris, 1899, pp. 5-6; Bartholomae, *ĀirWb.* col. 1776; *ZIW* p. 243.

## 39. HĀM-VAINTĪ.

Normally the distinctive epithet of Āxšti, Hām-vaintī ('Conquering') is mentioned as a separate war-goddess in Yt. xi, 15; but the text here is doubtful, and the existence of the deity is highly questionable.<sup>1</sup>

## 40. HĀM-VARETI.

At the behest of the divinities (*bayō-baxta-*) the goddess Hām-varēti ('Covering, Protection') takes her place with warriors, for whom she raises up a deliverer, even though they be in prison (Vsp. ix, 3). She is one of the deities accompanying Miθra, and with her he, in his boar-incarnation, overcomes the foe (Yt. x, 66, 71); she is the best defence against the Druj (Yt. xi, 2); she aided Kərəsāspa (Yt. xix, 38-9); she is especially associated with Vāta (Sir. i, 22; ii, 22); and Ātar is besought to grant her (Ys. lxii, 5). A derivative of her appellation is perhaps found in the proper name Frašhamvarēta (Yt. xiii, 102) and in that of the Persian satrap Φρασαρόρης<sup>2</sup>. Her two most significant exclusive epithets are *nairyā-* ('manly, heroic') and *axrafnyā-* ('sleepless'; cf. the synonymous *axrafna-* used of Ahura Mazda and Miθra); with Miθra she shares the epithets *ərədwiō-zənga-* ('possessing an uplifted ankle' i.e., alert) and *žayāurvah-* ('alert'), and with Ušah the obscure *framən-nar-* and *framən-narō-vīra-*.

The name of the goddess is obviously connected with Avestan *hām-var-*, 'to cover' (Vd. v, 59; cf. also Sanskrit *saṁ-var-*) and may be compared, except for the difference in vowel-grade, with Sanskrit *saṁvṛti-*, 'covering, concealment'. Her particular function would seem to have been that of protecting warriors in battle by hiding them from their foes, the situation being somewhat like Poseidon's rescue of the sons of Molione (*Iliad*, xi, 752; cf. Aphrodite's saving of Paris, *ib.* iii, 381):

ἐκ πολέμου ἐσάωσε, κελύψας ἥέρι πολλῇ.

On the other hand, her association with Miθra and Ušah would seem to imply that Hām-varēti was originally the deity of the morning mist,<sup>3</sup> which conceals, so that her special activity of hiding warriors to save them was apparently a later development.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Wolff, *Avesta . . . übersetzt*, Strasbourg, 1910, p. 224, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 104 (but cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1010). To Justi's list may be added Frašāvart, son of Jāmāsp, mentioned in a colophon at the end of the *Yātkār-i-Zarērān* (*Pahlavi Texts*, ed. Jamasp-Asana, Bombay, 1897-1913, ii, 4).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jackson, *Constantinople*, p. 229. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 112, takes the goddess to be the deity of manly courage.



## 41. HAPTŌ-IRINGA.

Haptō-iringa ('Possessing Seven Marks'), the divinity of the constellation of Ursa Major, is mentioned in company with other stars (Yt. xii, 28; Sīr. i, 13; ii, 13) and is besought to oppose wizards and witches (Yt. viii, 12; Sīr. ii, 13), while 99,999 Fravašis watch over him as over certain other holy beings (Yt. xiii, 60). In the Pahlavi texts Haptōk-ring is chieftain of the east (Bd. ii, 7) and the opponent of the planet Mars, Saturn, or Jupiter (Bd. v, 1; SGV iv, 32-3). He controls the twelve signs of the zodiac and, circling about hell, keeps back 99,999 evil beings with the aid of an equal number of Fravašis (MX xlix, 15-21). His portion of the sacrificial victim is the kidneys (SIS xi, 4). The only Avestan epithet of the god is *baēšazya-* ('healing'), which he shares with other deities. In the Rig Veda Ursa Major is once (I, xxiv, 10) called *Rkṣāḥ* ('the Bears') and once (X, lxxxii, 2) *Saptarṣi* ('Seven Sages'), but it played little part in cult either then or later.<sup>1</sup>

## 42. HĀVANI.

The divinity Hāvani ('Relating to the [Haoma-] Pressing'), the special god of the first of the five day-periods, from sunrise to noon (Bd. xxv, 9; Nīr. 47), is mentioned in association with Sāvarehi and Višva in Ys. i, 3, 20, 23; ii, 3; iii, 5, 24; iv, 8; vi, 1; vii, 5; xi, 16; xvii, 2; xxii, 5; G. i, 1, 5, and is connected with all the thirty-three *ratus* of Aša (Ys. i, 10; ii, 10; iii, 12; iv, 15; v, 9; vii, 12; xvii, 9; xxii, 12); but no further information is given concerning him.

## 43. HUJYĀTI.

Hujyāti ('Good Life') is once mentioned in the Gāthās (Ys. xxxii, 5) together with Aməretāt and seems to be identical with Haurvatāt, particularly as this is the only passage in which the one is named without the other.

## 44. HUŠITI.

Hušiti ('Good Abode') is named once in the Gāthās (Ys. xlviii, 11), where it is declared that she will come, rich in pastures, with Xšaθra. In the Younger Avesta she is associated with the Fravašis, the host of mothers of heroic sons, Ama, Vərəθraγna, and Uparatāt (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; G. iv, 2, 10, 13; cf. Yt. ii, 5, 10), as well as with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell-Kelch, *Index*, i, 107, 117-8; Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 144; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 421-2; Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 132.

Haurvatāt (Sir. i, 6 ; ii, 6 ; cf. Yt. ii, 3, 8). Her special epithet is *yāirya-* ('yearly' ; i.e., lasting throughout the year), and like Hādīš she is *vāstravant-* ('possessing pastures'). The Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 6, states that she is invoked 'when it is desirable to live in prosperity and correct progress throughout the year'.<sup>1</sup> She is plainly the special deity who presides over the welfare and safety of the household, and her name may be compared with the Sanskrit *sukṣiti*, 'good dwelling, safety, refuge', though there is no Indian deity with this appellation, nor does any precise counterpart seem to be found elsewhere.

#### 45. ĪŠ.

The abstract goddess Īš ('Wish') is once mentioned in the Gāthās (Ys. xxviii, 7), where Ārmaiti is besought to grant her to Vištāspa, and in the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) she is one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

#### 46. IŽĀ.

According to the Gāthās Ižā ('Zeal') and Āzūti will be his who unites with Vohu Manah (Ys. xlix, 5), and in Ahura Mazda's abode Zaratuštra will store up Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti, and Ižā for the righteous (ib. § 10). In the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) she is named as one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

#### 47. MĀHYA.

The name Māhya ('Relating to the Month') is applied collectively to the deities presiding over the several months and over the festivals which fall in them (Ys. i, 8, 17 ; ii, 8, 17 ; iii, 10, 24 ; iv, 13, 22 ; vi, 7 ; vii, 10 ; xvii, 7, 17 ; xxii, 10, 19).

#### 48. MAIDYĀIRYA.

Maidyāirya ('Mid-Year'), the deity of the fifth of the six divisions of the year, the eighty days<sup>2</sup> theoretically ending December 22, is mentioned only in connexion with the five other similar gods. He has the epithet *sarədhā-* ('cold-giving') in Vsp. i, 2 ; ii, 2, but no further details are recorded concerning him.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 167 ('the god who grants good lodging during the whole year').

<sup>2</sup> Since all the other divisions of the year are multiples of fifteen (45, 60, 75, 30, 75), probably this period was originally one of seventy-five days, with the five epagomenal days added at its termination instead of at the end of the year (cf. L. H. Gray, 'Calendar [Persian], in *ERE* iii, 129, and in Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 128-9).

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae *AirWb.* col. 1117 ; cf. also Section on Ayāθrima (above, p. 139).

## 49. MAIΔYŌI-ŠAM.

Maiδyōi-šam ('Mid-Summer'), the deity of the second of the six divisions of the year, the sixty days theoretically ending June 20, is mentioned only in association with the five other similar gods. He has the epithet *vāstrō-dātaiṇya-* ('relating to the fodder-harvest') in Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2, but no further details are recorded concerning him.<sup>1</sup>

## 50. MAIΔYŌI-ZARƏMAYA.

Maiδyōi-zarəmaya ('Mid-Spring'), the deity of the first of the six divisions of the year, the forty-five days theoretically ending April 21, is mentioned only in connexion with the five other similar gods. He has the epithet *payah-* ('sap-giving') in Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2, but no further details are recorded concerning him.<sup>2</sup>

## 51. MAΘRA.

*Maθra*, or *Maθra Spənta* ('Spell' or 'Holy Spell') appears as a divinity in the Younger Avesta.<sup>3</sup> He is invoked together with Dāta, Upanayanā, and Daēnā (Ys. i, 13; ii, 13; iii, 15; iv, 18; vi, 12; vii, 15; viii, 1; xvii, 13; xxii, 25; xxv, 6; lxxi, 5; Sir. i, 29; ii, 29), and two of their companions are *Āxšti* and *Ham-vainti* (Yt. xi, 17). *Maθra* is likewise named in association with *Āfriti*, *Dāmōiš* *Upamana*, *Haoma*, and *Zarəθuštra* (Ys. viii, 1); or with *Ahura Mazda*, *Daēnā*, *Aši*, *Arštāt*, *Zam*, and *Raočā* (Ys. xvi, 6; cf. Vsp. ix, 7; xiii, 1; xxi, 2; G. iv, 6). The name of the *Aməša Spəntas* is his most mighty part (Yt. i, 1-4; cf. i, 28); but he is also the white, bright, forth-shining soul of *Ahura Mazda* (Yt. xiii, 81) or of the 'Wise Lord's' *Fravaši* (Vd. xix, 14). *Haoma* is his protector (Ys. ix, 26), and he promises *Haoma* (Yt. xviii, 8). He has protective power (Yt. iv, 4; cf. x, 33), so that he is most potent against the demons (Yt. xi, 3) and is to be uttered to promote the growth of grain (Vd. iii, 33) and the increase of learning (Vd. iv, 45). Like *Saokā* and *Airyaman* he is entreated by *Ahura Mazda* to heal the 99,999 diseases created by *Aərə Mainyu* (Vd. xxii, 2, 6). He acts as a messenger of the 'Wise Lord' (Yt. xiii, 146), and his *Fravaši* is honoured (Yt. xiii, 86); but to teach him to the unbelieving is

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 1118-9, 1415; cf. also Section on *Ayāšrima* (above, p. 139).

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1118; cf. also Section on *Ayāšrima* (above, p. 139).

<sup>3</sup> See Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 115-8.

like giving a tongue to the wolf (Nir. 17). The spleen of the sacrificial victim is his portion (SIS xi, 4), and he presides over the twenty-ninth day of every month (Sir. i, 29; ii, 29; SIS xxii, 29; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). In the resplendent heaven he keeps a throne for the righteous man, and he promotes the religion (SIS xxii, 29; xxiii, 4). Besides his exclusive epithet *haomačana-* ('promising Haoma'), he shares with Zam the adjective *varazyarəhvā-* ('possessing energetic onset'), and his name is given to human beings<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that he is the ethicised disguise of the deity Nairyō-saṇha, the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Nārāśansa.<sup>2</sup> The Indian equivalent *māntra-* is used as a term for 'spell', but seems nowhere to be apotheosised.

## 52. NAIRYĀSPA.

The existence of a deity Nairyāspa ('Possessing Manly Horses') may be inferred from the mention of Narēsap in Turfan Manichaean fragments,<sup>3</sup> notably in a hymn in his honour which terms him 'ruler, father, beneficent, psychopomp, blessed father, beauty of light, in whom is no error, ruler of all realms' (i.e. aeons). From the scanty evidence at our disposal he would appear to have been a deity of light; and with his name we may compare the epithets *auruśāspa-* ('possessing white horses') and *hvaspa-* ('possessing good horses') of Miθra; *rauat-āspa-* ('making horses run swiftly') of Ušah; and *yuxta-āspa-* ('possessing yoked horses') of Drvāspā. He would seem, especially from his characterisation as a psychopomp, to have been originally the god of the setting sun, finding analogues in the Cautopat of Mithraism<sup>4</sup> and in the Lithuanian Bezlea, *dea vespertina*.<sup>5</sup>

## 53. NAIRYŌ-SAṆHA.

The deity Nairyō-saṇha ('Human Praise' [?]) is mentioned in company with Ātar (Ys. xvii, 11; Sir. i, 9; ii, 9); with Ātar and Sraoša (VYt. 40); with Ātar, Apam Napāt, and Dāmōiš Upa-

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 191; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 51.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 152-4.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 60, 63-4; F. C. Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *Le Muséon*, 1915, pp. 189-91.

<sup>5</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 88; for the form and meaning of the name see A. Brückner, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, ix (1886), 18, and T. von Grienberger, ib. xviii (1896), 17-8. For the Iranian deity see also A. V. W. Jackson, in *JRAS* 1924, p. 143.

mana (Ys. lxxii, 23; cf. Ny. v, 6); with Sraoša and Aši (Ys. lvii, 3; Vsp. vii, 1; xi, 16; Yt. xi, 8); with Sraoša and Miθra (Yt. x, 52); and with Sraoša and the Urvazišta Fire (Yt. xiii, 85). He is one of the chief messengers of Ahura Mazda (Vd. xix, 34; xxii, 7, 13).

In the Pahlavi texts Nēryōsang appears principally as a divine envoy (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 31; Dk. VII, iv, 84; GF iii, 72, 77-9), occasionally in company with Srōš (BYt. iii, 25, 26). He is a 'promoter of the world' (Dk. IX, xxii, 10-2), and after the fashion of the royal court he reminds the 'Wise Lord' of his engagements (ib. V, iv, 6). As the messenger of Aūharmazd he bears a lofty destiny to Manūščihr (Dk. VII, i, 29; cf. ii, 21, 70; ZS xiii, 6; Gd. Bd. xxvi, 31); and he receives two-thirds of the seed of the dying Gāyōmart, as well as the semen of Zarātūšt, entrusting the latter to Anahīt (Bd. xv, 1: xxxii, 8).

The god is named, under the form Narsai, in the Syriac *Pasion of St. Pethiōn*,<sup>1</sup> and Theodore bar Khōnī<sup>2</sup> reports a legend that Ormazd created Narsa as a man five hundred years old and placed him naked behind Satan that women, seeing him, might desire him and ask him from the Evil One. In Mithraism he (less probably Tištrya) was identified with Mercury.<sup>3</sup>

Nairyō-saṇha shares the Avestan epithet *huraōša*- ('well-formed') with Ama, 'Arədvī', Aši, Drvāspā, and Sraoša, as well as *vyavana*- ('eloquent,' or 'relating to assemblies' [?]) with Ātar and Miθra. His exclusive adjectives are *māyu*- ('skilful') and *xšaθrō-naptar*- ('grandchild of the Kingdom' [or, 'of Xšaθra' (?)]). His name became a favourite Iranian appellation.<sup>4</sup>

The term Nairyō-saṇha is obviously the Iranian equivalent of the Vedic *nārā-sāmsa*-, an epithet of Agni (RV III, xxix, 11; cf. I, xiii, 3; xviii, 9; II, iii, 2; V, v, 2; VII, ii, 2; X, lxx, 2) and of Pūṣan (I, cvi, 4; X, lxiv, 3), but also the name of an independent deity (I, cxlii, 3; II, xxxviii, 10; IX, lxxxvi, 42; X, lxiv, 3; xcii, 11; clxxxii, 2) who has been believed by some

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 65; J. Corluy, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vii (1886), 31. The Armenian version (*Vark' ev Vkayabanut'iunk' Srboç*, Venice, 1874, ii, 430-7) does not mention him.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. Pognon, *Coupees*, p. 163; cf. Cumont, *Cosmogonie*, pp. 34, 60-3.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 145.

<sup>4</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 221-5.

scholars<sup>1</sup> to have been a fire-god, though he seems rather to have been an apotheosis of men's praise of the gods, a divinisation of prayer.<sup>2</sup> The association of the deity with Agni and Ātar would appear to be that of utterance of prayer before the sacred fire to ascend as a messenger to the gods and later—since the envoy who goes often returns—to descend from them to man. If this interpretation be correct, Nairyō-saṇha was perhaps the deity who was subsequently disguised as Māfra (Spēnta)<sup>3</sup> in the ethicised reform of Iranism, the pair then forming doublets like Miθra-Vohu Manah, Ātar-Aša, etc.

#### 54. NMĀNYA.

The household deity Nmānya ('Relating to the House') is associated with Uṣahina and Bərəjya (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12; vi, 6; vii, 9; xvii, 6; xxii, 9; G. v, 5-6), and the Sanskrit version of Ys. i, 7, describes him as 'co-operative in the midst among men who are concerned with indoor occupations'. The divinity is obviously of the type of the Vedic Vāstoṣ Pāti,<sup>4</sup> the Roman Penates, the Lithuanian Namiški Dėgvai ('House-Gods'), and the Slavic Domovoi ('House-Lord').<sup>5</sup> In the Rīg Veda *dāmya-* is an epithet of Jātavedas (III, ii, 8) and of Agni (VIII, xxiii, 24).

#### 55. PAITIŠ-HAHYA.

The divinity Paitiš-hahya ('Relating to [Bringing in] the Grain'),<sup>6</sup> who presides over the third of the six divisions of the year, the seventy-five days theoretically ending September 3 and the period of harvest (Āfr. iii, 9; Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2), is mentioned together with the other five similar gods<sup>7</sup> in Ys. i, 9; ii, 9; iii,

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 209-10; Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 100; Hilbrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 98-107; Keith *Religion*, pp. 164-6.

<sup>2</sup> Bergaigne, *Religion*, i, 305-8; H. Oldenberg, in *ZdmG* liv (1900), 49-57. For the Iranian deity see also Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 137. De Harlez (*Avesta*, p. xevii; cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 117, note) regarded him 'as probably in origin the personification of the altar-flame bearing to heaven the prayer of the faithful'.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 151-2.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 138; Keith, *Religion*, p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 161-6, and in Roscher, iii, 1879-98; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 96; Máchal, *Mythology*, pp. 240-48; Leger, *Mythologie*, pp. 158-62.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 838. The Sanskrit version of Ys. i, 9, understands it as 'the creation-time of the earth'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Section on Ayāgrīma (above, p. 139).

11 ; iv, 14 ; vi, 8 ; vii, 11 ; xvii, 8 ; xxii, 11 ; Vsp. i, 2 ; ii, 2 ; Āfr. iii, 2. He finds analogues in the Roman Consus and Conditor, as well as in the Lithuanian granary-god Gabjauja.<sup>1</sup>

## 56. PAOIRYĀĒINYĀ.

The Paoiryāēinyā, or Pleiades,<sup>2</sup> are mentioned only once (Yt. viii, 12), being named in association with the Tištryāēinyā, the stars near Tištrya.

## 57. PĀRĒNDI.

The goddess Pārēndi ('Establishing Fulness'), a *ratu* of women, is associated with Daēnā and Aši (Ys. xiii, 1) and is one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda (Ys. xxxviii, 2). She also appears in company with Aši, Čisti, Frēti, Rasəstāt, Xvarənah, and Savah (Sīr. i, 25 ; cf. ii, 25). On a swift chariot she comes with Aši and Rātā to bless Vištāspa (VYt. 8-9) ; in a chariot she and Aši accompany Tištrya (Yt. viii, 38) ; and with Aši, Həm-varēti, Xvarənah, Əwāša, Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Fravašis she escorts Miθra (Yt. x, 66). She makes the body quick (Vsp. vii, 2). According to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 39, she gives joy to celestial beings and afflicts all demons ; and the Sanskrit version of Ys. xiii, 1 ; xxxviii, 2, makes her the guardian of hidden treasures. She shares the epithet *rayu-* ('light, swift') with Ušah and the Fravašis, and has as her exclusive descriptive *raoraθa-* ('possessing a swift car').

Pārēndi was evidently a deity of fulness, and so of abundance and wealth.<sup>3</sup> She is apparently to be compared with the Indian Pūrāṇdhī, who is mentioned about nine times in the Rīg Veda ;<sup>4</sup> and her name is probably connected etymologically

<sup>1</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 201-3 ; R. Peter, in Roscher, ii, 196, and Roscher, *ib.* i, 924-7 ; E. Auste, in *PW* iv, 859, 1147-8 ; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 876.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 124. H. Güntert (*KZ* xlv [1913], 202-4) thinks that Pairikā is her demonic antithesis (cf. also his *Reimwörterbildungen*, pp. 209-10).

<sup>4</sup> Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 207-9 ; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cviii ; Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 124 ; Pischel-Geldner, *Studien*, i, 202-16 ; Oldenberg, *Religion*, p. 63 ; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 405 ; Keith, *Religion* p. 211. The connexion proposed by O. Wiedemann (*BB* xxviii [1904], 12) with Albanian *perendi*, 'god, heaven, emperor', is very doubtful (cf. G. Meyer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1891, p. 328 ; Bartholomae, *ZIW* pp. 190-1).

with that of the Lithuanian *Piluitus*, 'deus divitiarum' (cf. Lithuanian *pil-nas*, 'full', *pil-dyti*, 'to fill').<sup>1</sup>

### 58. PAURVATĀT.

The abstract divinity *Paurvatāt* ('Priority') is once mentioned (*Vsp.* ix, 4) in company with *Ērēti*, *Aši*, *Čisti*, and *Uparatāt*, and shares with these and other deities the colourless epithet *amavant-* ('mighty'). She may possibly be compared with the Roman goddesses *Praestana* and *Praestitia*, the Sabine *Praestita*, and the Umbrian *Prestota*.<sup>2</sup>

### 59. PĒRĒNŌ-MĀH.

*Pērēnō-māh* ('Full Moon'), the deity of the full moon (i.e., of the fifteenth day, called *Dīn pa Mitrō* in the calendar), is mentioned with the other two special lunar gods *Antarē-māh* and *Višaptaša* in *Ys.* i, 8; ii, 8; iii, 10; iv, 13; vi, 7; vii, 10; xvii, 7; xxii, 10; *Ny.* iii, 6; *Yt.* vii, 4. Although the *Rig Veda* has no divinity of this type, the *Atharva* has a hymn (*VII*, lxxx) in honour of *Paurṇamāsī*, the (goddess of) full moon.

### 60. RĀMAN.

The divinity *Rāman* ('Rest') is closely associated with *Miθra* (*Ys.* i, 3; ii, 3; iii, 5; iv, 8; vi, 2; vii, 5; xvii, 2; xxii, 5, 23; *Vsp.* i, 7; ii, 9; *G.* i, 7; *Yt.* x, 0, 146; *Sīr.* i, 7; ii, 7; *Vd.* iii, 1) and is also mentioned in company with *Ahura Mazda*, the *Aməša Spentas*, *Miθra*, and *Hvarə* (*Ys.* xxv, 5); with *Ahura Mazda*, *Miθra*, *Sraoša*, *Rašnu*, the *Fravašis*, *Vərəθrayna*, and *Vāta* (*Ys.* xvi, 5); and with *Vayu*, *Ōwāša*, and *Zrvan* (*Ys.* lxxii, 10; *Sīr.* i, 21; ii, 21). *Zarəuštra* prays that *Vištāspa* may be as abundant in bliss as *Rāman* (*ĀZ* 7). He presides over the twenty-first day of each month (*Sīr.* i, 21; ii, 21; *Sis* xxii, 21; xxiii, 3; cf. *Bd.* xxvii, 24).

In the Pahlavi texts *Rām* is an auxiliary of *Vohūman* (*Gd.* *Bd.* xxvi, 9) and protects warriors, besides guiding souls over the *Činvat Bridge* (ib. § 12), so that on the fourth night after a death a sacred cake must be dedicated to him, another being for *Rašn* and *Astāt*, and a third for the *Fravaši* of the deceased (*SD* lxxxvii, 2). He is associated with *Mitrō* (*Dk.* IX, ix, 7) and identified with *Vāi* (*Gd.* *Bd.* xxvi, 12; Pahlavi version of *Ny.* i, 1), whence the *Yašt* in honour of *Vayu* (*Yt.* xv) is called

<sup>1</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 98; cf. also Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> R. Peter, in *Roscher*, ii, 217; Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 273, note 3.



the Rām Yašt. He grants long life and is especially pleasing in character (SIS. xxii, 21 ; xxiii, 3) ; and he is said to give taste to food (Pahlavi version of Ys. i, 3).<sup>1</sup> With Ahura Mazda and Aši he shares the Avestan epithets *pouru(š)-xwāštra-* ('possessing much bliss' [or, 'many blessed abodes']) and has as his exclusive descriptive *xwāštra-* ('possessing good pastures'). His name occasionally occurs as a component of proper names in the Sāsānian period.<sup>2</sup>

Rāman seems to have presided over material welfare, especially as represented by ownership of excellent pastures.<sup>3</sup> The Mišraic epithet *vouru-gaoyaoiti-* ('possessing broad pastures') apparently brought Rāman into connexion with Mišra, and so with the celestial divinities generally. His identification with Vayu was due, according to Darmesteter,<sup>4</sup> to the latter's association with kine as shown by the Vedas (RV I, cxxxiv, 46 ; cxxxv, 8 ; AV II, xxvi, 1).

#### 61. RAPI@WINA.

Rapišwina ('Relating to Meal-Time'), the special deity of the second of the five divisions of the day (from noon to mid-afternoon ; Bd. xxv, 9 ; Nir. 49), is mentioned in association with Frādat-fšu and Zantuma in Ys. i, 4, 20 ; ii, 4 ; iii, 6 ; iv, 9 ; vi, 3 ; vii, 6 ; xvii, 3 ; xxii, 6 ; G. ii, 1, 5 ; Āfr. iv, 1, 3, 5-8, but no details are recorded concerning him.

#### 62. RASASTĀT.

The goddess Rasastāt, whose name is of uncertain meaning, is named together with Aši, Čisti, and grēti in Ys. i, 14 ; iii, 16 ; iv, 19 ; vii, 16 ; xxii, 16, but without any details. Dhalla<sup>5</sup> considers her a minor angel presiding over truth (cf. Sanskrit *rāddhā-*, 'achieved, perfected, successful'. Avestan, Old Persian *rāsta-*, Modern Persian *rāst*, 'true').<sup>6</sup> Her association with

<sup>1</sup> For the explanation of this statement, based on a false etymology, see Darmesteter, *Études*, ii, 188-9, and Z4 ii, 578.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Darmesteter, *Études*, ii, 188-94 ; Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 114 ; Reichelt-Reader, p. 162. The *ā* renders connexion with Pahlavi *ramak*, Modern Persian *rama(h)*, 'herd', etc. (see Horn, *Etymologie*, no. 620), highly improbable. Spiegel (*EA* ii, 102) identified Rāman with Vayu, and de Harlez (*Avesta*, p. ciii) also regarded him as a deity of air.

<sup>4</sup> *Études*, ii, 194.

<sup>5</sup> *Theology*, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., however, I. Scheffelowitz, in *ZdmG* lix (1905), 704-5.

Luck, Wisdom, and Energy—if the interpretations given above of Aši, Čisti, and grēti are correct—suggests, however, that she may have been, rather, the deity of the right course of procedure.

### 63. RĀTĀ.

Rātā (' Gift '), the abstract goddess of bounteousness,<sup>2</sup> is associated with Armaiti, Haurvatāt, Hušiti, Amərətāt, etc. (Yt. ii, 3); with Ahura Mazda, the Aməša Spentas, Haoma, and Vohu Manah (Vd. xix, 19); with Aši (V Yt. 8); and with Armaiti alone (Sir. i, 5; ii, 5). Zaratustra's full bosom resembled hers (Dk. IX, xxiv, 3). She shares the Avestan epithet *mazda-dāta*- (' created by Mazda ') with many other divinities, and is *vouru-dōiḡra*- (' wide-seeing ') like Saokā. She is perhaps the same as Rāiti, who conquers Arāiti (Ys. lx, 5); and may find an analogue in the Vedic Sūnrtā (' Bounty '), who is personified in RV I, li, 2; cxxxiv, 1; VIII, xiii, 8; xlv, 12, and who is termed a goddess in RV I, xl, 3; X, cxli, 2.<sup>3</sup>

### 64. SAOKĀ.

The abstract deity Saokā (' Profit ') is named together with the Fravašis, Tištrya, and Vərəθraγna (Vd. xix, 37); with Xvarənah, Airyana Vaējah, the Daiytā river, and ' Arədvī ' (Yt. i, 21); or with Aša and the Airyaman-išya prayer (Yt. iii, 0; Sir. i, 3; ii, 3). With Ahura Mazda or with Rašnu she accompanies Vāta, Dāmōiš Upamana, and Xvarənah to the sacrifice (Yt. xii, 4, 6); and she is besought to give worldly wealth and profit (Vd. xxii, 3-4). In Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13, 22, she is an auxiliary of Mitrō, and ' all weal which the world on high destines for earth comes first to Sōk ', who transmits it to Māh, Māh to Arədvīvsūr, Arədvīvsūr to the Sky (*spīhr*), and the Sky to Earth, her own place being between Moon and Sun.

In the Avesta Saokā shares the epithet *mazda-dāta*- (' created by Mazda ') with many other divinities; and, like Rātā, she is *vouru-dōiḡra*- (' wide-seeing '), an epithet which the Pahlavi version of Vd. xix, 37, seems to have misread as *vohu-dōiḡra*- since it renders it by *kāmak dōiḡr*, glossed by *hūčašmīh u mīnōi hūčašmīh* (' good-eyedness and spirit of good-eyedness '). Her exclusive descriptives are *θra.fəda*- (' rich '), *baraṭ-avarəta*

<sup>1</sup> pp. 64-5, 142, 144.

<sup>2</sup> Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 114-5, where, however, *rātā* is confused with *rāiti*.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 120; K. Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, Stuttgart, 1907-09, i, 200.

(‘bearing possessions’), and *barat-āyapta-* (‘bearing boons’). The Sanskrit version of Yt. i, 21, glosses Saokā by *lābhamūrti* (‘profit-form’);<sup>1</sup> the Pahlavi version<sup>2</sup> has simply *sūt* (‘advantage’).

Saokā was clearly regarded as a divinity of earthly profit and would seem thus to have corresponded to the Roman *Lucrī*.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, her association with Ahura Mazda, Rašnu, Vāta, Dāmōiš Upamana, X<sup>v</sup>arənah, and Mišra, as well as her station between moon and sun, would appear to imply a celestial character. This would postulate a second Saokā, ‘the Glowing One’ (cf. Sanskrit *śokā-*, ‘glowing’, Avestan *ātrə-saoka-*, ‘firebrand’<sup>4</sup>), perhaps a special deity of some aspect of the sun. The association of Saokā with Airyana Vaējah, the Daityā, and ‘Arədvī’ (probably Chorasmia, the Zarafšān, and the Oxus<sup>5</sup>) apparently indicates a localisation in north-eastern Iran and possibly an identification with the Gurgān (‘Hyrcanian [River]’), which may be the *Σόκρυδς* of Ptolemy (VI, ix, 2).<sup>6</sup> All the evidence is best harmonised by supposing that Saokā is an amalgamation, because of the similarity of their names, of three divinities originally distinct: an abstract deity of terrestrial gain, a solar goddess, and a river-divinity.<sup>7</sup>

## 65. SATAVAĒSA.

The stellar god Satavaēsa (‘Possessing a Hundred Servants’) is especially associated with Tištrya (Yt. viii, O, 62), whom he follows in rank (ib. § 12). He rises from Vouru-kaša (Yt. viii, 32) and distributes water among the seven climes (*karšvar*) of the world (ib. § 9); the Fravašis send him forth between heaven

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Darmesteter, *Etudes*, ii, 261; cf. the Persian rendering by *sūd-i-sūrat* (ib. p. 270).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. M. N. Dhalla, in *Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1918, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iv, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 319; the name of the homonymous (?) Saokā is derived from the base *sav-*, ‘to profit’ (ib. col. 1549).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 155; Geiger, *OK* p. 32; see also above, pp. 60-1. For other proposed identifications of Airyana Vaējah see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 193-7; Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 5-6; Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 97-8; for the Daityā see the references given by F. Rosenberg, *Le Livre de Zoroastre*, Petrograd, 1904, p. 25, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> The Pahlavi version of Vd. i, 11, seems to identify the Xnənta with the Gurgān (cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 533).

<sup>7</sup> De Harlez, *Avesta*, pp. xcviii, cxix, has also postulated the existence of the first two.

and earth to let rain fall (Yt. xiii, 43-4); and he is named together with Vanant, Haptō-iranga, and other stars (Śīr. i, 13; ii, 13).<sup>1</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Satvēs is chieftain of the west (Bd. ii, 7; MX lxii, 12) or, more probably, of the south (Gd. Bd. cited by Darmesteter, ZA ii, 411; cf. Bd. xiii, 12; ZS vi, 16); and he is 'the chief of reservoirs' (Bd. xxiv, 17), as well as the opponent of the planet Venus (SGV iv, 35; cf. Bd. v, 1).

Satavaēsa shares with many other deities the epithet *mazda-ḍāta-* ('created by Mazda'); with Tištrya and others *raēvant-* ('radiant'), *sūra-* ('mighty'), and *xvarənahvant-* ('possessing glory'); and with Miθra *uxšat-urvara-* ('plant-increasing'), *taṭ-āp-* ('possessing falling water'), and *zavanō-srūt-* ('summons-hearing'). His only exclusive epithet is *frāpa-*, which probably means, as the Pahlavi version indicates by its *frāč āp-*, 'having water (flowing) forward' (cf. Sanskrit *prāpa-*, a compound of *pra-*, 'forward', and *āp-*, 'water,' reported only by Indian grammarians).<sup>2</sup>

Satavaēsa has been identified with Vega<sup>3</sup> and Antares;<sup>4</sup> but more plausibly with Aldebaran<sup>5</sup> or with Formalhaut.<sup>6</sup>

## 66. SAVAH.

The abstract deity Savah ('Advantage') appears only in lists with Aši, Čisti, Erēti, Rasastāt, and Xvarənah (Ys. i, 14; iii, 16; iv, 19; vii, 16; xxii, 16; cf. ii, 14; vi, 13; xvii, 14; Śīr. ii, 9). He shares with many other divinities the colourless epithet *mazda-ḍāta-* ('created by Mazda'), but no details are recorded concerning him, though he is clearly a god of worldly gain.

## 67. SĀVAŋHI.

The divinity Sāvaŋhi, whose name is of unknown meaning, is mentioned between Hāvani and Viśya (Ys. i, 3, 23; ii, 3; iii, 5; iv, 8; vi, 1; vii, 5; xi, 16; xvii, 2; G. i, 1; cf. Ys. ii, 18; iii, 24)

<sup>1</sup> The stars in general are named among other divinities in Ys. i, 16; ii, 11; iii, 18; iv, 21; vii, 18; xvii, 10; xxii, 18; G. iii, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1015; *PWb.* iv, 1145.

<sup>3</sup> Geiger, *OK* p. 313. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 278, note, however, regarded Satavaēsa as a cloud-deity.

<sup>4</sup> E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 13, note; xxiv, 109, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1556.

<sup>6</sup> Moulton, *EZ* p. 281, note 1.

and once (Ys. i, 20) between Hāvani and Rapiθwina. The Avesta gives no details concerning him, but the Sanskrit version of Ys. i, 3, states that he co-operates with Hāvani and 'increases the herds of cattle'. Apparently he was the deity who promoted the increase of large cattle as Frādat-fšu caused flocks to multiply. Because of the god's association with Hāvani Bartholomae<sup>1</sup> connected his name with \*savah-, 'morning'; but in view of his special function it seems more probably cognate with Avestan sav-, 'to profit', and perhaps with the Sanskrit śu- (reported only by the native lexicographers), 'to go, change, wander'

#### 68. 𐬐RITA.

The god 𐬐rita ('Aqueous' [?]), who was later confused with 𐬐raētaona (Pahlavi Frētūn, Modern Persian Frēdūn), and whose name was erroneously connected by popular etymology with Avestan θritya- ('third'; cf. Ys. ix, 10; Pahlavi gloss on Vd. xx, 2), is almost completely euhemerised in the extant Iranian texts. Here he is described as the first physician and as a healer of diseases (Vd. xx, 2); his Fravaši is invoked against maladies (Yt. xiii, 131); he was created immortal (MX viii, 27); and he who is full of healing is like him (DD xxxvii, 35).<sup>2</sup> In the Turfān Manichaean fragments<sup>3</sup> he appears, together with Mihr and all the angels, as protecting the religion, and as 'a god of pure name and a King'; while Pahlavi and Pāzand charms conjure him against disease.<sup>4</sup> He is probably the 'Asklepios most great' by whom the *Passion of St. Acindynus*<sup>5</sup> represents Sapor as swearing.

𐬐rita and 𐬐raētaona have Vedic counterparts in Trita and Traitana.<sup>6</sup> A. Carnoy has shown<sup>7</sup> that they are healing deities

<sup>1</sup> *AirWb.* col. 1572; cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 165, 296, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, tr. D. Shea, London, 1832, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 55, 59.

<sup>4</sup> K. E. Kanga, 'King Faridūn and a Few of his Amulets and Charms', in *K. E. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 141-5; J. J. Modi, *Anthropological Papers*, Bombay, 1911[?]-8, i, 48-50; ii, 249-51; J. M. Jamasp Asana, *Pahlavi, Gujurāti and English Dictionary*, i (Bombay, 1877), p. xxxv.

<sup>5</sup> *AS I Nov.*, 483.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 67-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 134-5; Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 258-71.

<sup>7</sup> In *JAOS* xxxviii (1918), 296-307.

developed from water-gods, this interpretation receiving support from the etymology of the name Trita-ōrita, which is most plausibly connected with Old Irish *triath*, 'sea', and Greek Τρίτων.<sup>1</sup>

## 69. 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎.

The abstract divinity 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 ('Space') is associated with Rāman, Vayu, and Zrvan (Ys. lxxii, 10; Sīr. i, 21; ii, 21); with Tištrya, Vanant, Zrvan, Vāta, Čistā, and Daēnā (Ny. i, 8); with Zrvan and Vayu (Vd. xix, 13); and with Aši, Pārēndi, Hamvareti, Xvarēnah, Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Fravašis, with whom he escorts Miθra (Yt. x, 66). Besides the colourless Avestan epithet *uŷra*- ('strong'), which he has in common with several other deities, he shares with Anayra Raočah the adjective *xʷadāta*- ('autonomous').

The god seems to have been known to the Greeks at least as early as the fourth century B.C., for Eudemus, as quoted by Damascius (*Dubitaciones et Solutiones*, 125<sup>bis</sup>),<sup>2</sup> said that 'the Magi and all the Aryan race give the name, some of Space (Τόπος) and others of Time [Χρόνος] to the whole cognised and unified [cosmos], from which are disjoined [διακριθῆναι] either a good god and an evil demon, or, as some say, light and darkness antecedent to them'. The divinity seems to have been one of celestial space,<sup>3</sup> not, as Spiegel supposed,<sup>4</sup> a synonym for 'Heaven', especially in the sense of 'Fate'.

## 70. TUŠNĀMATI.

The Gāthās once (Ys. xliii, 15) mention Tušnāmati ('Silent Thought, Meditation') as teaching Zaratuštra together with Vohu Manah. Bartholomae<sup>5</sup> regards her as identical with Armaiti.

<sup>1</sup> W. Stokes, *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*, Göttingen, 1894, p. 137; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, ii, 1912; H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1908-13, i, 132; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 986.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. lxxxvii ('la voûte immense des cieux roulant avec rapidité et entraînant les astres, les constellations, les planètes').

<sup>4</sup> *EA* ii, 13-16.

<sup>5</sup> *AirWb.* col. 658; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 199.

## 71. UPANAYANĀ.

The abstract goddess Upanayanā ('Tradition') is named in company with Maθra Spənta, Dāta, and Daēnā in Ys. i, 13; ii, 13; iii, 15; iv, 18; vi, 12; vii, 15; xvii, 13; xxii, 15; lxxi, 5; Yt. xi, 17. Like many other divinities she has Āxšti and Hamvaintī as her companions (Yt. xi, 17), but no details of her functions are recorded.

## 72. UPARATĀT.

The deity Uparatāt ('Superiority') appears in company with Hušiti, Ama, and Vərəθraϑna (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; lxxii, 9; G. iv, 2, 10, 13; Yt. ii, 5, 10; Sir. i, 7; ii, 7); with Ama and Vərəθraϑna (Sir. i, 20; ii, 20; Afr. i, 9; FW v, 1, 2); with Ama, Vereθraϑna, and Savah (Yt. xiii, 42); with Ama, Vərəθraϑna, Frati, Aši, Čisti, and Paurvatāt (Vsp. ix, 4); or with Vərəθraϑna alone (Vsp. i, 6; ii, 8; Yt. v, 86; x, 33; xiii, 34; xiv, 0, 64). She has the exclusive use of the Avestan epithet *vanant-* ('conquering'). In Mithraism she was identified with Victoria-Nike,<sup>1</sup> and she seems to be the goddess represented, under the name OANINΔA or OANINΔO (i.e., Vanainti, 'Conquering [Lady]'), on gold coins of the Indo-Scythian Huvīška as holding a wreath and trophy-stand, the type obviously being influenced by the Greek Nike.<sup>2</sup> A Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 6, seems to regard her as identical with Vərəθraϑna or with Arštāt.

It is fairly obvious, from her appearance on coins and in Mithraism, that Uparatāt was more important than the extant texts would imply. Primarily she was a goddess of victory, finding analogues in such divine figures as the Greek Nike,<sup>3</sup> the Roman Victoria,<sup>4</sup> and the British Briganti (often equated with Victoria),<sup>5</sup> as well as 'Ανδράστρη (variants 'Αδράστρη, 'Ανδάρη), who was, according to Dio Cassius (LXII, vi, 7), the goddess of victory among the Iceni of Britain,<sup>6</sup> and who may have been identical with the Andarta ('Great Bear') of the Vocontii in south-eastern Gaul.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 150-1.

<sup>2</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 5-6 and fig. viii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 203-4.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bulle, in Roscher, iii, 305-58.

<sup>4</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 139-41.

<sup>5</sup> Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 535-6; iii, 937.

<sup>6</sup> Dottin, *Manuel*, pp. 78, 313, 341, 346, 350; C. Jullian, *Recherches sur la religion gauloise*, Bordeaux, 1903, p. 26; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 151.

<sup>7</sup> Dottin, *Manuel*, pp. 313-4; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 138.

73. URVARĀ<sup>o</sup>.

'Plants' (Urvarā) are listed among the deities in Ys. i, 12, 16; ii, 12, 16; iii, 14, 18; iv, 17, 21; vi, 11; vii, 14, 18; xvii, 12. With the 'Waters' (Apō) and the Fravašis of the righteous they surround Mišra's chariot (Yt. x, 100), and the Fravašis show them where to grow (Yt. xiii, 55-6). The deification of plants (Oṣadhīs) is also found in the Veda.<sup>1</sup>

## 74. URVAΘĀ.

This divinity is invited to come to the sacrifice with Ahura Mazda and Rašnu (Yt. xii, 3, 5), but with no identification of her functions. Neither the form nor the meaning of her name is certain;<sup>2</sup> but if the first really was Urvaθā, and the second 'friendship', she might be compared with the early Imperial Roman Amicitia.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, her association with Ahura Mazda and Rašnu would seem to imply a celestial deity, and it is not impossible that Urvaθā is an abbreviation of some such epithet as *drvō-urvaθa-* ('possessing sound friends'), used of Drvāspā in Yt. ix, 1.

## 75. UŠAH.

Ušah ('Dawn'), the dawn-goddess, is mentioned as a worshipful being in G. v, 5, where she has the special epithets *nmānyant-* (of uncertain meaning), *raṇjaṭ-aspa-*, and *ravaṭ-aspa-* (both signifying 'making horses run swiftly'), besides sharing the adjectives *xšōiθna-* ('shining') with 'Arədvī' and Aši; *framənar-* and *framən-narō-vīra-* (both of unknown connotation) with Ham-varəti; *rayu-* ('light, swift') with Pārendi and the Fravašis; *xāθravant-* ('possessing well-being') with Ahura Mazda, the Fravašis, and Haḍis; and *srīra-* ('beautiful') with Aša, Aši, Armaiti, Tištrya, Daēnā, Vāta, Vohu Manah, and Haoma. She corresponds to the Vedic Uṣas<sup>4</sup> and seems to be a doublet of Bāmyā.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 154; Keith, *Religion*, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1537. Several manuscripts read the name Aurvaθā.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 46-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 119-22.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 139-40.



## 76. UŠAHINA.

Ušahina ('Relating to the Dawn'), the special deity of the fifth (and last) day-period (Ys. i, 20), from midnight until the stars become imperceptible (Nir. 46; Bd. xxv, 9), is mentioned in company with Bərəjya and Nmānya (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12; vi, 6; vii, 9; xvii, 6; xxii, 9; G. v, 1, 6) and is especially associated with Ušah (G. v, 5), but no further information is given concerning him.

## 77. UŠIDARĒNA.

The mountain Ušidarēna ('Dawn-Abode'), 'Mazda-created', is invoked both together with all mountains (Ys. i, 14; ii, 14; iii, 16; iv, 19; vi, 13; vii, 16; xvii, 14; xxii, 16; Sir. i, 28; ii, 28) and separately (Ys. 0, 11; xxv, 7; Yt. i, 28; cf. Yt. xix, 2). In the Pahlavi texts Mount Aūšdāštār is said to be in Sāgastān (Bd. xii, 15; ASDS 2); it is mentioned in the propitiation of Aštāt, and from its clay Aūharmazd will reshape the bodies of the evil creation (DD xxx, 2; xxxvii, 118; cf. Sir. i, 26; ii, 26).

The mountain seems to have been one of the series about the headwaters of the Hilmand river;<sup>1</sup> at all events it was to the east, and in view of its etymology<sup>2</sup> it was clearly venerated as the Mountain of the Dawn.<sup>3</sup>

Another mountain, Saokēta, whose identification is wholly unknown, is worshipped in Ny. i, 8; FW v, 1; and divine reverence was accorded mountains generally (Ys. i, 14; ii, 14, iii, 16; iv, 19; vi, 13; vii, 16; xvii, 14; xxii, 16; Sir. i, 28; ii, 28), so that St. Anastasius was commanded to adore, among other sacred beings, 'mountains and hills'.<sup>4</sup> These sacred mountains find a demonic counterpart in the volcano-deity Arəzūra.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Geographie*, ii, 12; Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 633, note 98.

<sup>2</sup> See Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 416.

<sup>3</sup> Lettish sun-myths know a mountain of the sunset (W. Mannhardt, 'Die lettischen Sonnenmythen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii [1875], 73-104, 209-44, 261-330, nos. 15, 35, 55).

<sup>4</sup> *AS* III Jan., 42.

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 200-1.

Deification of mountains likewise existed in the Veda<sup>1</sup> and in Gaul;<sup>2</sup> and here seem also to belong such divinities as the Roman Collatina, Montinus, and Septimontius,<sup>3</sup> as well as the Lithuanian Kaukarius (cf. Lithuanian *kaukarà*, 'hill').<sup>4</sup>

## 78. UZAYEIRINA.

Uzayeirina ('Relating to Afternoon'), the special god of the third-day period, from mid-afternoon to sunset (Nīr. 50; Bd. xxv, 9), is mentioned together with Frādaṭ-vīra and Dahyuma in Ys. i, 5; ii, 5; iii, 7; iv, 10; vi, 4; vii, 7; xvii, 4; xxii, 7; G. iii, 1, but no further information is given concerning him.

## 79. VANANT.

Together with Tištrya and other stars Vanant ('Conquering') is honoured for his might, victory, supremacy, and conquest of distress (Yt. viii, 12); Rašnu may abide in him (Yt. xii, 26); he is associated with many other celestial deities (Ny. i, 8), especially with stars (Sīr. i, 13; ii, 13); and he is a foe of demons (Yt. xxi, 1). The very short twenty-first Yašt is composed in his honour, but tells little regarding him except that he is mighty, is invoked by his (own) name, and possesses healing powers. Besides the colourless Avestan epithets *amavant*- ('mighty') and *mazda-dāta*- ('created by Mazda'), which he has in common with many other divinities, he shares *aotō-nāman*- ('whose name is spoken') with Ātar, Miθra, and Sraoša; and *baēšazya*- ('healing') with 'Arədvī', Aši, Ahura Mazda, Tištrya, Drvāspā, the Fravašis, Haoma, and Haptō-iringa. In the Pahlavi texts he is the chieftain of the south (Bd. ii, 7) and is opposed to the planet Jupiter (Bd. v, 1) or to Mars (SGV iv, 34). He is entrusted with the passes and gates of Albūrṣ to turn back demons (MX xlix, 12-4), and his portion of the sacrificial sheep is the testicles (SIS xi, 4). He has been identified with the star Formalhaut<sup>5</sup> or with Vega;<sup>6</sup> and his name seems to be an abbreviation, perhaps of some such combination as \*Starə Vanant

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 154; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 187-8; cf. Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 199, note 4; iii, 181-3. For traces of the cult in Armenia see Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>2</sup> Renel, *Religions*, pp. 153-4, 391, 392, 395, 398, 406; MacCulloch, *Religion*, p. 39; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 16, 682, 815-6, 1984; iii, 450-1, 545-6.

<sup>3</sup> R. Peter, in Roscher, ii, 195, 204, 222-3.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 13, note; xxiv, 91, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1354.

(‘Conquering Star’), possibly occurring in the proper name Vanōnč-bām (‘Radiance of Vanant [?]’).<sup>1</sup>

## 80. VĀTA.

The god Vāta (‘wind’) is associated with Earth, Sky, Stars, Moon, Sun, and Anayra Raočah (Ys. i, 16; iii, 18; iv, 21; vii, 18; xxii, 18); with Vərəθraϑna and Rāman (Ys. xvi, 5); with Sraoša, Rašnu, Daēnā, and Āfriti (Ys. lxx, 3); with Tištrya, Vanant, ōwāša, Zrvan, Čistā, and Daēnā (Ny. i, 8); with the Fravašis, Miθra, Rašnu, and Dāmōiš Upamana (Yt. xiii, 47); with Miθra and Dāmōiš Upamana (Yt. x, 9); with Ārmaiti (Vd. xix, 13); and with Ahura Mazda, ōwāša, Zrvan, and Vayu (VYt. 24). Like many other deities he has Axšti and Həm-vainti as his two companions (Yt. xi, 16). He comes to the sacrifice with Ahura Mazda (or with Rašnu), Dāmōiš Upamana, Xvarənah, and Savah (Yt. xii, 4, 6); and his form is assumed by Vərəθraϑna (Yt. xiv, 2). He presides over the twenty-second day of each month (Šir. i, 22; ii, 22; SIs xxii, 22; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). Of his Avestan epithets in common with other deities the most important is *huδā-* (‘possessing good insight’), which he shares with the Aməša Spentas, Ahura Mazda, and Atar; and he alone is termed *darši-* (‘hardy’).

In the Pahlavi texts Vāt is an auxiliary of Horvadaϑ and the source of wind (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32, 34). He co-operates with Tištar, Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīvsūr, Hōm, Dīn, Būrj, and the Fravašis in executing the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain, his special duties being to aid Tištar and Satvēs in drawing up the water, to assist Tištar and Vohūman in moving the clouds, and to collaborate in routing the demons (Dk. III. cxii, 5). The tail of the sacrificial sheep is his portion (SIs xi, 4); his gift is ‘peace from the resplendent heaven’, and he is distinguished for fragrance (ib. xxii, 22; xxiii, 3).

The winds formed one of the seven chief objects of worship among the ancient Persians (Herodotus, i, 131; Strabo, p. 732; cf. Aristides, *Apologia*, v, 4), and Herodotus (vii, 191) records a special ceremony in their honour, while St. Qarday was required to adore air as one of the deities.<sup>2</sup> Under the name OAO the wind-deity is represented on coins of the Indo-Scythian Kaniska as a bearded god with flowing hair, holding in his hands the ends

<sup>1</sup> F. W. K. Müller, ‘Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch’, in ABAW, 1912, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Mar Kadaghi Martyris*, ed. and tr. J. B. Abbeloos, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, ix (1890), 24.

of his floating garments.<sup>1</sup> He likewise appears in Turkish Manichæan fragments under the designation Wadžiwantā (\*Vād Živandag, 'Living Wind'), the Ζών Πνεύμα, or 'Spiritus Vivens', of the entire system.<sup>2</sup> The deity's name forms one of the components of the proper name Αἰτοφραδάτης, Vātfradāt ('Created by Vāta').<sup>3</sup>

The function of Vāta is clear from his name: he is a windgod, possibly of the south.<sup>4</sup> He finds analogues in the Vedic Vāta, the wind-element (cf. especially RV X, clxviii, clxxxvi),<sup>5</sup> and in the Ossete 'Lady of the Winds'.<sup>6</sup> The Romans likewise worshipped the winds,<sup>7</sup> and the Teutonic Wodan, whose name seems best regarded as cognate with Vāta, and who was originally a wind-deity, rose to be one of the chief divinities of the pantheon.<sup>8</sup> To the same category belong the Lithuanian Vejopatis ('Wind-Lord') and the Lettish Vēja Māte ('Wind-Mother')<sup>9</sup> as well as the Gaulish Circius, the North-West Wind (cf. Old French *cierce*, Provençal and Catalan *cers*, Spanish *cierzo*), to whom Augustus erected an altar (Seneca, *Quæstiones Naturales*, V, xvii, 5).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 4 and fig. v; cf. von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Le Coq, *Manichaica*, i, 14, 24, 40; iii, 8-9; Cumont, *Cosmogonie*, pp. 21 sqq.; for the etymology see A. V. W. Jackson, in *JRAS* 1924, pp. 153-4, and his forthcoming *Mani*.

<sup>3</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 48 (Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 52-3, is incorrect); de Morgan, *Numismatique*, pp. 279, 281, 205; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 69, 179.

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomæ, *AirWb.* col. 1409; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. ciii, regarded him as the deity of the lower air.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 81-2; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 139-40; cf. Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 157-8.

<sup>6</sup> H. Hübschmann, in *ZdmG* xli (1887), 536.

<sup>7</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 228; for Greek wind-deities see Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 834-48.

<sup>8</sup> P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, pp. 221-34.

<sup>9</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 104, 108; K. Mühlenbach, *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. J. Endzelin, Riga, 1923 sqq., ii, 588.

<sup>10</sup> Dottin, *Manuel*, p. 328; Renel, *Religions*, p. 396; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 1026; Meyer-Lübke, *Wörterbuch*, p. 155. The Gaulish Vintius was scarcely a wind-god (so MacCulloch, *Religion*, p. 180), being rather a local divinity of Vence (Alpes-Maritimes) and Vens (Haute-Savoie) (Dottin, pp. 305, 309; Renel, p. 406; Holder, iii, 355-6).

## 81. VAYAH.

Vayah ('Aether'), the deity of aerial space, is mentioned only once (Ny. i, 1), sharing the epithet *darəγō-xrəδātā-* ('long-autonomous') with Zrvan. No details are recorded concerning him except that the Pahlavi commentary on Ny. i, 1, identifies him with Rām.<sup>1</sup>

## 82. VAYU.

The fifteenth Yašt, though known as the Rām Yašt, is composed in honour of the deity Vayu ('Wind'). From it we learn that he comes in part from Spənta Mainyu (§§ 0, 5, 57, 58; see also Ys. 0, 9; xxii, 24; xxv, 5; lxxii, 10; Sir. i, 21; ii, 21); that he received sacrifice from Ahura Mazda, Haošvaŋha, Urupi, Yima, Aži Dahāka, ərətaona, Kərəsāspa, Aurvasāra, and Hutaosa (§§ 2-37); and that unmarried girls make offerings to him to obtain husbands (§§ 39-41). He has a special list of forty-seven names (§§ 43-8) by which he should be invoked in time of peril (§§ 49-52). When proper sacrifice is made to him, he averts danger, and he teaches magic spells potent against demons (§§ 53-6). He is described (§ 57), in terms which might be construed as implying an image of him, as having helmet, diadem, necklace, raiment, girdle, shoes, chariot, and weapons all of gold.

Elsewhere in the Younger Avesta, Vayu is associated with Hvarəxsāēta, Čistā, and Daēnā (Ys. 0, 9; xxii, 24; xxv, 5); or with Rāman, ərəša, and Zrvan (Sir. i, 21; ii, 21). In the Pahlavi texts he is sometimes identified with Rām (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 12);<sup>2</sup> he is associated with Miθrō, Rašn, Vāhrām, Aštāt, and Dīn (AVN v, 3); the second of the three sacred cakes consecrated at dawn after the third night following a death is in his honour (SIS xvii, 4); and he was transformed into a camel by Kai Xūsroi, who rode upon him (Dk. xxiii, 2-3), although ultimately he caused the monarch's death (DD xxxvi, 3). His special enemy is Vāi the Bad (DD xxx, 4), and the head of the sacrificial sheep is his portion (SIS xi, 4).

Besides the colourless Avestan *taxma-* ('sturdy') and *uyra-* ('strong'), which Vayu has in common with many other deities, he shares *uparō-kairya-* ('possessing activity on high') with Tištrya, the Fravašis, and Xvarənah; *darəzra-* ('sturdy') with the Fravašis; *tiži-aršti-* ('sharp-speared') with Miθra;

<sup>1</sup> See, further Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1359.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp 156-7.

and *aurva-* ('swift') with Haoma. Of his special epithets the most noteworthy are *anamarəzdika-* ('pitiless'), *aiwi-xʷarənah-* ('possessing glory round about'), *āyaoza-* ('causing [water] to surge forward'), *uskāt-yāsta-* ('high-girt'), *gərəða-* ('greedy'), *tarō-θaēša-* and *θaēšō-tara-* ('overcoming hostility'), *dərəzi-yaowədra-* ('possessing sturdy attack'), *nispā-* ('casting down'), *pāyaoza-* ('causing [water] to surge away'), *pərəθu-varah-* ('broad-breasted'), *pərəθu-sraoni-* ('broad-hipped'), *pərəθvarəšti-* ('broad-speared'), *fraspā-* ('casting forth'), *buxti-* ('howling'), *vaēžyarəšti-* ('possessing a sharp lance'), *vanō-vīspa-* ('all-conquering'), *vivaoza-* ('causing [water] to surge apart'), *saočahin-* ('flaming'), and *habravana-* ('conquering at once').

West suggested<sup>1</sup> that Vayu the Good and Vayu the Bad 'appear to be personifications of the upper and lower air, respectively; the former being considered pure through its connection with the sacred beings, and the latter impure through contamination by the demons'. It would seem more probable, however, especially in view of his epithets, that Vayu the Good was the deity of the storm-wind in its beneficent aspect as contrasted with Vayu the Bad, the divinity of the destructive storm-wind. Thus as a benevolent being Vayu comes from Spənta Mainyu;<sup>2</sup> and as a deity of the storm-wind he appropriately has the epithets 'possessing sturdy attack', 'casting down', 'casting forth', 'howling', 'all-conquering', and 'conquering at once'. So also he makes water 'surge forward, away, and apart'; and his connexion with lightning is implied by his descriptives 'possessing glory round about' and 'flaming', as well as by the allusions to his 'sharp, broad spear' and, very possibly, by the description of his golden raiment. In view of his association with the fertilising rains girls would naturally invoke him for husbands. Allusions to an earlier period when the two Vayus were still one may lurk in the terms which describe him as 'pitiless' and 'greedy'.

Vayu finds a counterpart in the Vedic Vāyu, thus forming a parallel to the Indo-Iranian Vāta, though in India 'Vāyu is chiefly the god, and Vāta the element'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *SBE* xxxvii, 224, note (cf. also de Harlez, *Avesta*, pp. cii-ciii; Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 111); for an opposing view see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1358.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 132, who, however, regards the two Vayus simply as the good and harmful aspects of wind.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 81; cf. also ib. pp. 81-3; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 139-40; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 326-30; Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 156-7; and see above, pp. 167-8.

## 83. VIŠAPTAṬA.

Višaptaṭa ('Intervening Seventh'), the deity of the eighth and twenty-third day of each month (called respectively *Dīn pa* *Ātarō* and *Dīn pa* *Dīn* in the calendar), is mentioned together with the two other special moon-gods *Antarō-māh* and *Pərənō-māh* in Ys. i, 8; ii, 8; iii, 10; iv, 13; vi, 7; vii, 10; xvii, 7; xxii, 10; Ny. iii, 6; Yt. vii, 4; but no details are recorded concerning him. He seems to find at least a partial Indian analogue in *Ekāṣṭakā* (the eighth day after full moon), in whose honour *Atharva Veda* III, x, is composed.<sup>1</sup>

## 84. VISYA.

Visya ('Relating to the Village'), the name applied generically to the local deity of each village, who was charged with its special protection, occurs together with *Hāvani* and *Sāvaṇhī* in Ys. i, 3, 23; ii, 3; iii, 5, 24; iv, 8; vi, 2; vii, 5; xi, 16; xvii, 2; xxii, 5; G. i, 1 (cf. also G. i, 6, 7); but no details are given concerning the divinity. He finds analogues not only in the Roman *Genius Urbis Romae*,<sup>2</sup> but also in numerous Celtic town-gods, such as *Alaunius* ('[God] of *Alaunium*' [near *Alaun*, *Basses-Alpes*]), *Aramo(n)* ('[God] of *Aramon*'), *Aximus* ('[God] of *Axima*' [*Aime-en-Tarantaise*, *Savoie*]), *Bergimus* ('[God] of *Bergamo*'), *Boccus* ('[God] of *Boucou*' [*Haute-Garonne*]), *Gisacus* ('[God] of *Gisacum*' [near *Vieil-Evreux*, *Eure*]), *Ivavos* ('[God] of *Ivaunum*' [*Évaux*, *Creuse*]), *Letinno* ('[God] of *Lédenon*' [*Gard*]), *Luxovius* ('[God] of *Luxovium*' [*Luxeuil*, *Haute-Saône*]), *Trittia* ('[Goddess] of *Trets*' [*Bouches-du-Rhône*]), and *Vintius* ('[God] of *Vintium*' [*Vence*, *Alpes-Maritimes*, and *Vens*, *Haute-Savoie*]).<sup>3</sup> Among the *Ossetes* individual villages and families have their own special deities,<sup>4</sup> the *Grāmadēvatā* ('Village-Deity') is an important figure in the lower strata of modern Hinduism,<sup>5</sup> and the *Letts* had a goddess ('mother') of the city of *Riga* (*Rīgas Māte*).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, i, 119; ii, 157; Keith, *Religion*, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 179; G. G. Hill, in *ERE* iii, 681.

<sup>3</sup> Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 77, 171-2, 319, 403, 454, 2023; ii, 99, 191 358; iii, 355-6.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hübschmann, in *ZdmG* xli (1887), 538.

<sup>5</sup> W. Crooke, *Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 83-92.

<sup>6</sup> K. Mühlēnbach, *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. J. Endzelin, Riga, 1923 sqq., ii, 588.



## 85. YĀIRYA.

The name Yāirya ('Relating to the Year') is given collectively to the divinities who preside over the six seasons of the year and the relevant season-festivals (Ys. i, 9, 17; ii, 9, 17; iii, 11, 24; iv, 14, 22; vi, 8; vii, 11; xvii, 8, 17; xxii, 11, 19; Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2).

## 86. YAOŠTI.

The abstract deity Yaošti ('Zeal') is once named in the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) as one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

## 87. ZAM.

The goddess Zam ('Earth') is invoked in company with Waters, Lands, Plants, Sky, Winds, Stars, Māh, Hvarə, Anāra Raočah, and all creations of Spənta Mainyu (Ys. i, 16; iii, 18; iv, 21; vii, 18; xxii, 18); with Waters and Plants (G. ii, 6); with Daēnā, Aši, Pərəndi, and the righteous woman (Yt. xiii, 1); and with Ahura Mazda, Daēnā, Aši, Arštāt, Asan, Mašra Spənta, and Anāra Raočah (Ys. xvi, 6). She is identified with Armaiti (Vd. ii, 10, 18) and presides over the twenty-eighth day of each month (Sīr. i, 28; ii, 28; SIs xxii, 28; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). The genius of earth, she is an auxiliary of Amerədat, and with Aštāt she weighs the souls at the Cinvaŋ Bridge (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 36, 38). She is a doublet of Armaiti,<sup>1</sup> and corresponds not only to the Vedic Pṛthivī<sup>2</sup> and the Roman Terra (or Tellus) Mater,<sup>3</sup> but also to the Lithuanian Žemyna ('terrestris [dea]') and the Lettish Zemes Māte ('Mother of Earth'),<sup>4</sup> as well as to the Teutonic Nerthus (Tacitus, *Germania*, 40).<sup>5</sup>

## 88. ZANTUMA.

The deity Zantuma ('Relating to the Clan') is mentioned in association with Rapiθwina and Frādat-fšu in Ys. i, 4; ii, 4; iii, 6; iv, 9; vi, 3; vii, 6; xvii, 3; xxii, 6 (cf. G. ii, 8); and the Sanskrit version of Ys. i, 4, interprets him as 'co-operative in the midst of men who are teachers'. The evidence at

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 50-1.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 88; Keith, *Religion*, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 192-5, and in Roscher, v, 331-45; Eitrem, in Roscher, v, 391.

Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 105, 108.

<sup>5</sup> P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, pp. 104, 248; and, in general, J. A. MacCulloch, in *ERF* v, 129-30.



disposal is insufficient to determine whether these clan-gods were of the type of the Roman Numeria, Vitellia, etc.—i.e., congenital with the clans worshipping them with *sacra gentilicia*—or of the type of the Lithuanian Reikiezius (cf. Lithuanian *riėkti*, ‘to slice, plough for the first time’, or *riėkti*, ‘to cry, howl, scream’), Sidzius (cf. Lithuanian *\*žydzius*, ‘he who makes to blossom’, or *žiedzius*, ‘shaper’), and Simonaitis (diminutive of Lithuanian *žemoniys*, ‘landowner, farmer’)—i.e., divinities adopted for special cult by individual families.<sup>2</sup> Among the Ossetes families and villages have their own particular deities.<sup>3</sup>

### 89. ZARAΘUŠTRŌTĒMA.

Zaraθuštrōtēma (‘Most [Like] Zaraθuštra’), who stands at the head of the series Nmānya, Visya, Zantuma, Dahyuma (Ys. xvii, 18; xxvi, 1; Yt. xiii, 21; SLS xiii, 10, 15, 44; xix, 5; cf. Ys. xix, 18), is invoked together with Aiwisrūgrima and Frādāt-vīspām-hujoyāti (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; cf. Vsp. i, 9); and is likewise associated with Aši, Cisti, Ahura Mazda, and Zaraθuštra (Vsp. ix, 1), as well as with Frādāt-vīspām-hujoyāti, Zaraθuštra, Māšra Spēnta, and Gēuš-Urvan (G. iv, 6). Bartholomae<sup>4</sup> was probably correct in regarding him as the patron deity of the priesthood.

### 90. ZARĒNUMANT.

The pool (*sūra*-) Zarēnumant (‘Golden’) is mentioned as a worshipful being in Ny. i, 8, and FW v, 1, although no details are recorded, and the traditional versions have lost knowledge of the term’s true meaning.<sup>5</sup> A ‘spring Zarīnmand’ formed part of the Hētūmand (the present Hīlmand), and there was a ‘lake Zarīnmand’ near Hamadān (Bd. xx, 34; xxii, 6). Justi<sup>6</sup> identified the Avestan Zarēnumant with the latter, especially as Qazvīnī (i, 153; ii, 229) describes a spring on Mount Alvand, near Hamadān, as coming from Paradise and flowing in greater or less abundance according as larger or smaller numbers need its healing waters. The Gauls had sacred lakes, notably near

<sup>1</sup> See Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 33, 404.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 100, 101; see also T. von Grienberger, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, xviii (1896), 28, 29.

<sup>3</sup> H. Hübschmann, in *ZdmG* xli (1887), 538.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 1677; so also Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> See M. N. Dhalla, *The Nyāishes or Zoroastrian Litanies*, New York, 1908, pp. 28-33.

<sup>6</sup> *Geographie*, i, 26-7; cf. ii, 12.

Toulouse (Strabo, p. 188; Justin, XXXII, iii, 9);<sup>1</sup> and the Lithuanians venerated a lake Orthus which abounded in fish.<sup>2</sup> Two other lakes to which divine honours were paid in Iran were Caēčasta (Urumiah) and Haosravah (Ny. v, 5; Sir. i, 9; ii, 9).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> MacCulloch, *Religion*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> For suggested identifications see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 575; Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 631, note 92.

## BOOK II.

## THE IRANIAN PANDEMONIUM.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE ARCHDEVILS.

*Section A.*

## THE IRANIAN DEMONS IN GENERAL.

So far as the extant documents go, the demon-world of the Iranians is much less developed than the divine realm. Except for a few great fiends, at least one of whom seems to have been degraded from a god to become the lord of all heinous beings, while several others appear to have been originally mere harmful aspects of divinities primarily working both weal and woe, they are vague abstractions, chiefly of disease and undesirable ethical qualities. The functions and even the meaning of the names of many of them are wholly unknown or highly obscure. It would be unwise, however, to assume too much from an *argumentum e silentio*; for analogies from other religions would imply that in Iran as elsewhere maleficent beings received an excess, rather than a deficiency, of cult. The relative paucity of material concerning the powers of wickedness seems due to a determined and systematic endeavour to ignore evil as far as possible, and thus to doom it through oblivion to nothingness.

The realm of archdevils shows the following antitheses to the good Aməša Spəntas (Bd. i, 25-7; xxviii, 7-12; xxx, 29; Dk. V, vii, 2; cf. Vd. x, 9-10; xix, 43):

Aṇra Mainyu	..	..	Ahura Mazda
Aka Manah	..	..	Vohu Manah
Indra	..	..	Aša Vahišta
Saurva	..	..	Xšaθra Vairya
Nāṇhaiīya	..	..	Spənta Ārmaiti
Taurvi	..	..	Haurvatāt
Zairik	..	..	Amərətāt

## Section B.

## AṞRA MAINYU.

AṞra Mainyu ('Hostile Spirit'), the leader of the demons and the archantagonist of Ahura Mazda, has been studied so repeatedly<sup>1</sup> that discussion may here be restricted to such aspects as seem to cast light upon his original nature.

The Gāṣās mention AṞra Mainyu only once (Ys. xlv, 2), in a passage where the 'holier of the Spirits twain' declares his absolute antithesis to the 'hostile' in all things. In the Younger Avesta he is the 'demon of demons' (Vd. xix, 1, 43), a Druj (ib. § 12; cf. Yt. xi, 14), dwelling in the north (Vd. xix, 1), in hideous hell (Yt. xix, 44), and in a world of darkness (Aog. 28; cf. Ys. ix, 15; xix, 81; Yt. ix. 4; xvii, 25; Vd. xix, 30) like other fiends (Vd. xix, 47). He is a creator of all that is opposed to the creation of Ahura Mazda (Ys. lvii, 17; lxi, 2; Yt. xiii, 76; xv, 3, 43-4; Vd. i, 2, 4-13, 15-9; xiii, 1, 5-6; xix, 5, 6, 8; FW iv, 2); he formed Aži Dahāka (Ys. ix, 8) and infects man's body with disease (Vd. xx, 3; xxii, 2) and deformity (Vd. ii, 29, 37); but Zaratuštra forced him to withdraw from earth (Yt. xvii, 19-20; cf. viii, 44; FW iv, 3), and at the Last Day he will suffer complete defeat (Yt. xix, 96; cf. xiii, 13). He fears Miθra's mace (Yt. x, 97), is repulsed by Vohu Manah (Pahlavi Vd. xviii, 2), and, it is implied, dislikes the sun (Yt. x, 118). He seeks to prevent the waters from flowing and the plants from maturing (Yt. xiii, 78), but he cannot destroy Tištrya (Yt. viii, 44), and the Fravašis are a defence against him (Yt. xiii, 12-3, 71). Transformed into a horse, he was ridden for thirty years by Urupi (Yt. xv, 12; xix, 29; ZS i, 6, 20; v, 3; DD xxxvii, 9, 85; MX xxvii, 21-2).

In the Pahlavi texts Ahriman dwells in an abyss of endless darkness (Bd. i, 3, 10, 22), coming forth from it and thus first learning of the existence of Aūharmazd (Bd. i, 9; ZS i, 2-3, 20). Ignorance is one of his chief characteristics (Bd. i, 3, 9, 19; DD iii, 8; xxxvii, 8; Dk. III, clxvii, 2; cccclxxvii, 3; VI E, xxxviii, 9), and he seeks to conceal the consequences of sin

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter, *Ormazd*; Spiegel, *EA* ii, 121-6; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 72-80; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 48, 157-9, 254-60; Casartelli-Philosophy, pp. 50-68; Scheffelowitz, *Judentum*, pp. 51-8; A. Kohut, *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 62-72.

(MX xiii, 7-9). Rising up to the sky at the vernal equinox, he sprang to the world like a snake, passing to the subterranean waters and thence to the middle of the earth, rushing over all creation like a fly, making the world at noonday black as midnight, filling it with venomous and noxious creatures, blighting vegetation, bringing woe on man and beast, and contaminating fire with smoke and blackness (Bd. iii, 10-7, 24, 27; cf. xxvii, 1; ZS i, 28; ii, 1-11; iv, 1-3; DD xxxvii, 28, 46; Dk. III, clvii, 40-3). He assumes the form of a lizard (Bd. iii, 9; xxviii, 1) or of a youth (Bd. iii, 9).

Ahriman is incorporeal (DD xix, 2), though Artā-ī-Virāf saw him (AVN c, 1), and he is not eternal (Dk. VI, cclxxviii). He is the father of demons (Bd. iii, 2, 3, 6) and is a creator of all things evil (Bd. i, 10, 24, 27; DD xxxvii, 82). He endeavours to pervert or to destroy the creation of Aūharmazd (Bd. i, 14; xxviii, 2-6; DD xxxvii, 10, 22; SGV iv, 12; xii, 72-4; Dk. III, lxxxiv, 2; cciii, 15; ccviii, 2; V, iv, 1-4; VI, ccvii, 1; ccviii, 2); but his own creation will be annihilated and he himself, inferior to Aūharmazd, will be utterly defeated (Bd. i, 7, 10, 13, 16, 20-2; iii, 1, 26; vi, 1-4; xxx, 29; DD vii, 3; xxxvii, 15, 18, 20, 59, 64, 67, 71, 114, 120-2; MX viii, 15, 25-26; lvii, 6; Dk. III, cxiv, 2-3; clxvii, 2; cxcviii, 12; cclxvii, 2; cccxiii, 2; cccxix, 2; cclxxvii, 2-3; cclxxxi, 5; ccccvii, 7; V, viii, 3; VI, cclxiv, 1-2; cxcvii, 1-2).

Aṇra Mainyu shares the Avestan epithets *dušx<sup>a</sup>aranah-* ('possessing an evil glory') and *duždā-* ('evil-thinking') with Aēšma; *duždaēna-* ('possessing an evil religion' [or, 'ego']) with Aži Dahāka; and *mairya-* ('deceitful') with Būšyastā; he himself is *duždāman-* ('possessing an evil creation'), *dužvarəštavarəz-* ('working evil'), *drəyvant-* ('fiendish'), *pourumahrka-* ('possessing the death of many'), *vispō-mahrka-* ('possessing the death of all'), and *skutara-* (a term of unknown meaning). Arimanius seems to occur as a personal name on a Mithraic sculpture preserved in the Museum of the Philosophical Society at York.<sup>1</sup>

A very significant light on the original nature of Aṇra Mainyu is cast by Mithraism, which identified him with the Greek Hades (cf. Aristotle, cited by Diogenes Laertius, *De Vitis Philosophorum*, procem. vi, 8; Hesychius, s. v. Ἀρεμάνης; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 46) and regarded him as the god of the underworld.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions were dedicated 'Deo Arimanio',<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* ii, 160, 392, and fig. 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* i, 139, 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* ii, 98, 141.

one from Ostium records a 'signum Arimanium'.<sup>1</sup> He was doubtless the underworld-god (τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγόμενῳ εἰνυθ θεῷ) who was propitiated by burying human victims alive (Herodotus, vii, 114; Plutarch, *De Superstitionibus*, 13; cf. Justin, XI, xv, 10). He is explained as σκότος καὶ ἀγνοία and is born of darkness (ζόφος) according to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46, 47; cf. Eudemus, quoted by Damascius, *Dubitationes et Solutiones*, 125<sup>bis</sup>), while Hippolytus (*Refutationes*, I, ii, 13) interprets him as Χθόνιος. Xerxes besought him to curse the foe (Plutarch, *Vita Themistoclis*, 27).<sup>2</sup> He is mentioned by Armenian authors under the form Ahrmn,<sup>3</sup> and by Syriac writers as Aharman,<sup>4</sup> Christians (e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia, cited by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, lxxii, 81) sometimes identifying him with Satan.<sup>5</sup> He is named in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 39<sup>a</sup>) under the form אהרמנין, and he appears a few times in Turfān Manichaean fragments,<sup>6</sup> Chinese texts of the same religion terming him Šamnu,<sup>7</sup> while the Buriats have borrowed his name under the form Arima.<sup>8</sup>

Etymologically the word *aṇra-* seems to be cognate with Old Persian *arika-*, 'hostile' (for \**ahrika-*), Avestan *a-sta-*, 'hate, enmity'.<sup>9</sup>

The evidence of Mithraism and of the Greek writers indicates that *Aṇra Mainyu* was originally the god of the underworld,<sup>10</sup> and this is confirmed by reminiscences in the Iranian texts themselves: his abode in the dark realms under earth, his power over water and plants, his association with disease, and his impotence against the celestial Ahura Mazda, Miθra, and

<sup>1</sup> A. Stein, in *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, cxliv (1910), 229.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 79, 129, 157.

<sup>3</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 26-7; cf. A. Meillet, in *REA* ii (1921), 235-6.

<sup>4</sup> T. Nöldeke, in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 36-7; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 64; cf. also Cumont, *TM* i, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Braun, *Akten*, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 18, 56, 94.

<sup>7</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, p. 524, note.

<sup>8</sup> U. Holmberg, in *MAR* iv, 301.

<sup>9</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 105; *ZIW* p. 108; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 255. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, i (Göttingen, 1905), 38, connects *aṇra-* with Sanskrit *asura-*, 'fiend'. See, further, Walde-Pokorný, *Wörterbuch*, i, 134-5, 324; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 425-6.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 95, 128-9, 131-2; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 3-4, 166; Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 239, 255-6.

Tištrya, while his final defeat by the 'Wise Lord' is a myth of the transitory earth as contrasted with the eternal sky, thus giving a hint of the Iranian version of the 'Ages of the World'.<sup>1</sup> The development of an underworld-deity into a divinity of the evil dead and of their place of torment finds analogues in the Greek Hades;<sup>2</sup> the Roman Helernus, and especially Vediovis and Dis Pater;<sup>3</sup> and the Lithuanian Zemeluks, god of the earth and of those buried in it, Žemininkas, the earth-god, and Žemyna, the earth-goddess.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, Aṇra Mainyu is the antagonist not only of Ahura Mazda, but also of Spēta Mainyu (Yt. xiii, 12-3; xv, 2-3; xix, 44, 46; Dk. III, lxxxv, 2; lxxxvii, 2; cxlviii, 2-3; clxii, 2; cccix, 2; cccclxxvii, 3; cf. VYt. 47, and, probably, Ys. xlv, 2). It is possible then that he is an amalgamation of two deities, thus forming a parallel to the occasional identification of Spēta Mainyu with Ahura Mazda.<sup>5</sup> If this be true, Aṇra Mainyu is a composite of (1) an earth-god, the counterpart of the celestial Ahura Mazda; and (2) a creator of evil, the opposite of Spēta Mainyu, the creator of good, the fusion being aided by the fact that earth brings forth tares as well as wheat, death as well as life, and produces all manner of antitheses. In any event it seems clear from the parallelism of the celestial and infernal protagonists that Aṇra Mainyu corresponds both to Ahura Mazda and to Spēta Mainyu; and that in the texts as we possess them there is on this matter, as on so many others, an obscurity which thus far appears to defy all efforts at final solution of the problem.

In the appellation Aṇra Mainyu we have, it may be suggested, another instance (as in the case of Spēta Mainyu, etc.)<sup>6</sup> of a cultic epithet developed into the name of an amnestonymous

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the articles 'Ages of the World' in *ERE* i, 183-210; the 'Zoroastrian' section, by N. Söderblom (pp. 205-10), does not take cognisance of the theory here advanced.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 399-411; C. Scherer, in Roscher, i, 1778-1811; Farnell, *CGS* iii, 280-8; cf. also such epithets of Hades as 'αλάμπετος, 'ανχύγητος, βροτοφθόρος, ζοφερός, θανάσιμος, καταχθόνιος, στυγερός, ὑποχθόνιος, and χθόνιος.

<sup>3</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 236-8; R. Peter, in Roscher, i, 1179-88.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, pp. 21, 101, 103, 105, 106.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 25-7, 34-5, 44, 46-7, 60, 105-6, 110, 113, 129, 141, 181, 184.

deity or—as is here much more likely—of two such divinities, especially as the Avesta very frequently applies the same descriptive to several distinct deities.<sup>1</sup> The closest parallel to Aṇra Mainyu would seem to be the Orissan Kandh Tari Pennu, the earth-goddess who is the creation and consort of the sun-god Bella Pennu, and who is the source of all moral and physical evil; but the evidence concerning her is too meagre and contradictory to permit of any definite conclusions regarding her real nature and attributes.<sup>2</sup>

### *Section C.*

#### AKA MANAH.

According to the Gāṇās Aka Manah (‘ Evil Mind ’) was chosen by the Daēvas (Ys. xxx, 6), who, like the wicked, are of his seed (xxxii, 3); evil men cling to him (xlvi, 5); and he is named together with Asrušti (xxxiii, 4).

In the Younger Avesta and Pahlavi texts Aka Manah, from whom Aṇra Mainyu’s evil creation springs (Vd. xix, 8), is, together with Aēšma, Dahāka, and Spityura, a messenger of Ahriman, being the antithesis of Vohu Manah (Yt. xix, 46; ZS xiv, 8-13), by whom he is ultimately conquered (Yt. xix, 96; Bd. xxx, 29). He was the second creation of Ahriman (Bd. i, 24), coming from his dark world (ib. § 27). His special function is to give ‘ vile thoughts and discord to the creatures ’ (Bd. xxviii, 7); he is characterised by stench (ZS ix, 6); and his association with Ahriman is due to Mitōxt, who was the archfiend’s first creation (DD xxxvii, 53; Bd. i, 24). He was born together with Varun (Dk. III, cxxii, 4-5), and through his friendship come vice and many other evils (ib. III, cxxx, 4; cclxiii, 8). Through Akōman one is liable to destroy and injure one’s self (Dk. III, cclxiii, 6; cf. VI, lxxxvii, 1; xciii, 3), for this fiend blinds man’s perception (ib. III, cclxvi, 9; cf. cccxcvii, 2-23; VI, lxxviii, 2; IX, xxx, 8), is of perverse thought (ib. V, vii, 2), and causes man his first distress, even at birth (ib. III, cclxxxiv, 2).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, ‘ A List of the Divine and Demonic Epithets in the Avesta ’, in *JAOS* xli (1926), 97-153.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Crooke, in *ERE* vii, 649.



In view of the fact that Aka Manah is the special foe of Vohu Manah (and so of Miθra), it would appear that he was originally a deity of night, corresponding perhaps to the Vedic Rātri<sup>1</sup> and, more exactly, to the Roman Nocturnus.<sup>2</sup> Since the night is peculiarly the time when demons are abroad,<sup>3</sup> he became a leader of these malevolent beings, and finally was regarded essentially as the fiend who darkens man's mind and soul. His conquest by Vohu Manah thus represents the victory of light over darkness. Like the name Vohu Manah,<sup>4</sup> Aka Manah probably represents an old cultic epithet \**akamanah*- ('possessing an evil mind'), the evil divinity himself apparently having become amnestonymous.

#### Section D.

##### INDRA.

The demon Indra ('Giant' [?]) is mentioned twice in the Avesta (Vd. x, 9; xix, 43) together with the archfiends, and his name occurs similarly in the Pahlavi texts (Bd. i, 27; Mān. I, x, 9; Dk. V, vii, 2). He 'constrains the thoughts of creatures from deeds of virtue' and is pleased when the duties of religion are neglected (Bd. xxviii, 8, 10), being further described as 'the spirit of the religion of apostasy' (Dk. IX, xxxii, 3-4). In the final battle he will be conquered by Artavahišt (Bd. xxx, 29). The Pahlavi version of Ys. xlviii, 1, glosses *drujəm* by Andar, the Pahlavi form of the demon's name.

The appellation is obviously the same as that of the great Vedic god Indra and is probably cognate with the Anglo-Saxon *ent*, 'giant'.<sup>5</sup> There is, however, a marked difference between the Indian and the Iranian Indra: the hostility of the latter to Aša (Ātar) is diametrically opposed to the Vedic association of the former with Fire, which is so close that Indrāgnī forms a *dvandva* compound.<sup>6</sup> The explanation lies, it may be supposed, in the two aspects of the 'Giant' as connected with rain: in India he was associated with rain as bringing fertility, especially

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Muir, *OST* iv, 497-500; Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 124; Keith *Religion*, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 135; W. Drexler, in Roscher, iii, 446.

<sup>3</sup> Oldenberg, *Religion*, p. 269; cf. Babrius, *Fabulae*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 35. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 127-8, 259-60, considered him to have been invented as a mere antithesis to Vohu Manah.

<sup>5</sup> E. Lidén, *Studien zur altindischen und vergleichenden Sprachgeschichte*, Upsala, 1897, p. 58; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 168.

<sup>6</sup> For the passages in the Rīg Veda see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 216.

in the monsoon :<sup>1</sup> in Iran he was the deity of winter torrents and of heavy rains that bring malaria in their wake, such as those which prevail along the southern Caspian coast in the land of the 'Māzainyan devils', where the average annual precipitation is 600 mm.<sup>2</sup>

### Section E.

#### SAURVA.

Mentioned with the other archdevils (Vd. x, 9-10 ; xix, 43 ; Bd. i, 27 ; xxviii, 7-12 ; xxx, 29 ; Mān. I, x, 9 ; Dk. V, vii, 2 ; IX, ix, 1), the business of Saurva ('Archer' [?], 'Crusher' [?]) is 'misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness' (Bd. xxviii, 9), but he will finally be conquered by Šatvairō (ib. xxx, 29).

The demon's name corresponds to the Sanskrit Śarvá (usually associated with Bhava), who is described in the Atharva Veda as an archer (IV, xxviii ; VI, xciii, 2 ; XI, ii, 1 ; vi, 9 ; XII, iv, 17 ; XV, v, 2) and a deity of destructive lightning (X, i, 23), identical or closely connected with Rudra (XI, ii ; cf. VIII, ii, 7 ; viii, 17-8 ; XII, v, 36).<sup>3</sup> The appellation is probably cognate with Sanskrit śāru- 'missile, arrow, spear', śar-, 'to break, rend, crush' (cf. śarv-, 'to injure', reported only by native lexicographers), Avestan *asarata-*, 'unbroken', *sari-*, 'fragment', *sāiri-*, 'destruction', Greek *κερῶζω*, 'to destroy, ravage, kill', *κῆρ* 'goddess of death', *κερυνός*, 'thunder', Latin *caries*, 'rotteness, decay', Gothic *hairsus*, Middle Irish *coire*, 'swords'.<sup>4</sup> In view of the character of Śarva, Saurva also would seem to represent the destructive aspect of the storm, especially in the lightning flash.

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Hopkins, 'Indra as the God of Fertility', in *JAOS* xxxv (1917), 242-68 ; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 54-6 ; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 157-300. Reichelt's view (*Reader*, pp. 118-9) that Indra was 'made a demon because of his being too fond of the Soma-drink' seems less probable. Cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 262-3 ; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 124-33, 220.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Grothe, *Zur Natur und Wirtschaft von Vorderasien. I. Persien*, Frankfurt, 1911, p. 10, note ; Jackson, *Constantinople*, p. 86 ; A. Supan, 'Die Verteilung des Niederschlags auf der festen Erdoberfläche', in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, lv (1909), 269 ; A. Houtum-Schindler, ib. lviii, part 2 (1912), 334 ; A. R. Neligan, *Hints for Residents and Travellers in Persia*, London, 1914, pp. 191-2, 194 ; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., xxi, 190-1.

<sup>3</sup> See also Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 75 (cf., however, Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 263-4) ; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 144, 147, 150.

<sup>4</sup> *P Wb.* vii, 104 ; M. Bloomfield, in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1894, p. clix, and *BB* xxiii (1897), 109-10 ; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cxxx ; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 435, 440, 450 ; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 131 ; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, p. 173.

## Section F.

Nā<sup>o</sup>ṛhaiθya.

The archdemon Nā<sup>o</sup>ṛhaiθya ('Relating to Return' [?]) is named together with the other chief fiends in Vd. x, 9-10; xix, 43; Bd. i, 27; xxviii, 7-12; xxx, 29; Mān. I, x, 9; Dk. V, vii, 2. His special function is to rouse discontent (Bd. xxviii, 10); he is identified with Tarōmaθ (ib. xxx, 29, but see xxviii, 14); and he will finally be overcome by Spendarmat (ib. xxx, 29).

The demon's name corresponds to the Sanskrit *nāsatya*-, a frequent epithet of the Ásvins,<sup>1</sup> though once used (RV IV, iii, 6) as an attribute of Vāta, who is there likewise termed (as in RV VII, xl, 6) *pārijman*- ('circumambient'). The word seems to be cognate with Sanskrit *nas*-, 'to associate with, join, embrace', Greek *νόμναι* 'to go, return', *νόστος*, 'return,' Irish *fuinim* (\**yo-nēs*-), 'to set' (of the sun), Gothic *ga-nisan*, 'to be healed, saved', *nasjan*, 'to save' (i.e., to cause to return to life), and Old Norse *nest*, Danish *niste*, 'travelling provisions.'<sup>2</sup> In formation it may be compared with Avestan *gavaithya*-, 'herd of cattle', *x<sup>a</sup>aiθya*-, 'personal', Sanskrit *atratya*-, 'relating to that place', Old Irish *daurde*, 'oaken', and possibly Gothic *awe þi*, Anglo-Saxon *eowd(e)*, 'flock of sheep';<sup>3</sup> or else with derivatives from participles of the type of Sanskrit *satya*-, Avestan *haiθya*-, 'true', Avestan *vīspō-hankərəθya*-, 'all-combining' (?). The meaning, which the Indo-Iranian *ā* apparently shows to be causative, appears to be something like 'relating to return, returning, he who causes return'.

It is commonly held<sup>4</sup> that Nā<sup>o</sup>ṛhaiθya is identical with Nāsatya, and that Nāsatya-Nā<sup>o</sup>ṛhaiθya are mentioned in the Boyaz-kōi texts under the form Na-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na, though this is not

<sup>1</sup> For references see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 726; cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormuzd*, pp. 264-5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 663-4; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 143-4, 279; Falk-Torp, *Wörterbuch*, p. 767; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 334-5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 510; W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 479; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, p. 51; Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 193. In Sanskrit the formation seems restricted to derivative, from adverbs.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. Spiegel, *Periode*, p. 207.

absolutely certain.<sup>1</sup> It is quite clear that the Indian and the Iranian names are the same; but do they apply to the same divine beings? In the Rig Veda (IV, iii, 6) Vāta is both a wanderer (*pārijman-*) and a restorer (*nāsatya-*), and the Aśvins in their capacity of Nāsatyau 'restore' or 'bring back'. In the Avesta, on the other hand, the superhuman being Nāzhaīšya would seem, from his antagonism to Spendarmat-Zam, the earth-mother, to have been originally a death-deity who 'returned' man to the earth whence he was born.<sup>2</sup> It would appear, then, that Nāzhaīšya and Nāsatya were appellations of totally distinct divinities, the one restoring to earth (i.e. bringing to the grave) and the other restoring to life. In both cases the term is primarily a mere cultic epithet, but in Iran it usurped the name—probably by deliberate euphemistic substitution—of a god who in the historic period became amnestonymous.

### Section G.

#### • TAURVI AND ZAIRIK.

The two archdevils Taurvi and Zairik ('Conquering' and 'Yellowish, Greenish') are mentioned in a *dvandva* compound in Vd. xix, 43, and are also named together with the other principal demons in Vd. x, 9-10; Bd. i, 27; xxviii, 7-12; xxx, 29; Mān. I, x, 9; Dk. V, vii, 2; IX, ix, 1. According to Bd. xxviii, 11, Taprēw 'mingles poison with plants and creatures', and Zairīc is 'the maker of poisons'; but in DD xxxvii, 52, the latter 'poisons eatables and produces causes of death,' his companion not being mentioned. Ultimately they will be conquered by Horvadaṭ and Amerōdaṭ respectively (Bd. xxx, 29).

The name Taurva is etymologically cognate with Sanskrit *turv-*, 'to overcome', *tūrvi-*, 'superior';<sup>3</sup> and Zairik with Sanskrit *hāri-*, 'bay, tawney, yellowish, greenish',<sup>4</sup> its choice

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Clark, 'The Alleged Indo-Iranian Names in Cuneiform Inscriptions', in *AJSL* xxxiii (1917), 261-82 (in the present connexion especially pp. 279-80). For the Vedic Nāsatyas see Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 49; Keith, *Religion*, p. 114 (Geldner [Pischel-Geldner, *Studien*, iii, 72] was scarcely correct in holding that one Aśvin was named Nāsatya and the other Dasra).

<sup>2</sup> The present writer believes that the earliest Iranian mode of disposal of the dead was by burial.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., further, Persson, *Beiträge*, p. 777.

<sup>4</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 1063-4, 1065-6; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 279, 299, 362; and note especially Old Church Slavie *zlicǫ, žlicǫ*, 'gall' (Meillet, *Slave*, p. 263).

perhaps being influenced by the epithets *zairi-gaona*- ('gold-coloured') and *zāiri*- ('golden') applied to Haoma (cf. *hāri*- as an epithet of Soma in RV IX, iii, 9; v, 4; lvii, 2; etc.).

As opponents of Haurvatāt (Water) and Ameretāt (Haoma) respectively Taurva may have been a drought-god corresponding to the Vedic Śuṣṇa;<sup>1</sup> while Zairik was probably a deity of poisonous plants.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MAJOR DEMONS.

#### *Section A.*

#### AĒŠMĀ.

IN the Gāthās the evil are said to go over to Aēšma ('Fury, Wrath'; Ys. xxx, 6), and the wicked increase him with their tongues (xlviii, 11); but he must be stayed (xlviii, 7), and the righteous crush him (xlviii, 11). He is especially the foe of cattle, whom the wicked deliver up to him (xlv, 20), and whom he oppresses (xxi, 1), so that the kine pray for him to be thrust back (xxix, 2).

According to the Younger Avesta Aēšma accompanies those who are influenced by any intoxicant except Haoma (Ys. x, 8; Yt. xvii, 5), and together with Aka Mainyu, Aži Dahāka, and Spityura he is a messenger of Aṇra Mainyu, being the demonic antithesis of Aša (Yt. xix, 46). Against him the pious invoke the aid of Sraoša, who conquers him (Ys. lvii, 10, 25); and he is also overcome by Mišra (Yt. x, 97; xi, 15). He is associated with Aṇra Mainyu (Ys. lvii, 32); with Aṇra Mainyu and Būš-yaštā (Yt. x, 97); with Akataš (Vd. x, 13); and with Nasu and a number of minor fiends (Vd. xi, 9).

In the Pahlavi texts Aēšm receives seven powers, annihilated by Hōšāng (Dk. VII, i, 18), to destroy creatures, laying the foundation for the entrance of Mitōxt and Arašk, and 'mostly contriving all evil for the creatures of Aūharmazd' (Bd. xxviii, 15-17; cf. § 20). He has a progeny of demons with dishevelled hair (BYt. i, 5; ii, 36), and has been commissioned by Ahriman to 'occasion trouble by contests, and cause an increase of slaughter' (DD xxxvii, 52), making even the demons fight with each other if he cannot sow discord among men (ib. § 104). He is one

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 160-1. For the two Iranian demons see also Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt*, pp. 33-4.

of the opponents of the soul at the Činvař Bridge (MX. ii, 115-6), but is himself incorporeate (ib. xxvii, 37). He led Kāi Ūs into evil (Dk. IX, xxii, 5-6) and raised up Alexander the Great (ib. VII, vii, 7), besides causing men to act like thieves and bandits (ib. III, cviii, 4), as well as dispelling intelligence (ib. III, cxvi, 3). Once each night he comes to the material world (SIS xiii, 43); and his chief antagonist is Srōš, who will conquer him at the Last Day (Bd. xxx, 29; MX viii, 14), though the Pahlavi gloss on Vd. xix, 43, makes him the foe of Vohūman.

Aēšma has as his exclusive Avestan descriptives *arvīdru-* ('possessing a sanguinary mace') and *pəšō-tanu-* ('possessing a damned body'); and he shares with Aŋra Mainyu the epithets *duša-arenah-* ('possessing an evil glory') and *duždā-* ('evil-thinking').

His name appears in Pahlavi and Modern Persian as *xišm*, *xašm*, 'wrath', and finds cognates in Greek *οἱστρος*, 'mad desire, frenzy', Lithuanian *aistra*, 'passion, ardour, eagerness', Latin *irā*, 'wrath'.<sup>1</sup> Aēšma has frequently been identified with the *Ἀσμοδῆλιος* of the Book of Tobit and the *אַשְׁמֶדַי* of the Talmud and Midrāšim,<sup>2</sup> but the characters of the two are so dissimilar<sup>3</sup> that it seems more prudent to refrain from assuming that they are the same, especially as *אַשְׁמֶדַי* may be derived from Hebrew *אַשְׁדַּד* 'to apostatise'.<sup>4</sup> Moulton believed<sup>5</sup> that Aēšma might have been 'a personification due to Zarathushtra himself', though he might also be regarded as the Iranian

<sup>1</sup> Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 693; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 392-3; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 162; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 106-7.

<sup>2</sup> Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 138-47; A. Kohut, *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 72-84; Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 285; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 75, 89-91; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 114; W. von Baudissin, in *PRE* ii, 142-3; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 250-2; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 105, 106.

<sup>3</sup> See especially L. Ginzberg, in *JE* ii, 217-20.

<sup>4</sup> Scheftelowitz, *Judentum*, p. 61, and the references there given.

<sup>5</sup> *EZ* p. 130.

counterpart of the Vedic Manyu, 'Wrath, a personification suggested chiefly by the fierce anger of Indra'.<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter<sup>2</sup> regarded him as a storm-demon. On the other hand, his opposition to the light-deities Sraoša and Miθra, as well as to the fire-god Aša, his nightly visit to earth, and his association with those who have drunk too deeply of aught save Haoma may imply that originally he was a divinity of nocturnal revelry, possibly of sacrifices made by night to Miθra under Haoma's inspiration.<sup>3</sup> The name Aēšma may itself have been the final member of a cultic epithet anciently applied to Haoma just as *āpāntamanyu-* ('possessing Manyu when drunk') is used of Soma in RV X, lxxxix, 5, especially as injudicious indulgence might lead to anger and other disorders which Aēšma was believed to cause.

### Section B.

#### AŽI DAHĀKA.

Aži Dahāka ('? Serpent'), though discussed by several scholars,<sup>4</sup> remains one of the most obscure beings in the Iranian pandemonium. He has three heads, three mouths, six eyes, and a thousand faculties; and he is by far the mightiest Druj created by Ažra Mainyu to destroy the world of Aša (Ys. ix, 8; Yt. v, 34; xiv, 40; xv, 24). He had two wives, Saŋhavak and Arenavak (Yt. v, 34; xv, 24), Yima's sisters, whom he stole and retained until oraētaona set them free (Pahlavi VYt., fragment tr. E. W. West, in *GirP* ii, 86; ŠN pp. 35: 5-7; 53: 4 sqq.).<sup>5</sup> In vain he offered sacrifice at Bawri (Babylon) to 'Aredvi' that he might depopulate the world (Yt. v, 29-31), as he did at Kvirinta (Karind)<sup>6</sup> to Vayu (Yt. xv, 19-21); but oraētaona, after offerings to these same deities, overcame him at his own birthplace in Varəna (Ys. ix, 8; Yt. v, 33-5; xiv, 40; xv, 23-5; xix, 36-7, 92; Vd. i, 17). Together with Aka Manah, Aēšma, and Spityura he was an envoy of Ažra Mainyu, and the bitter foe of Ātar (Yt. xix, 46-50).

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell *Mythology*, p. 119; cf. Keith, *Religion*, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ormazd*, pp. 128, 220.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 72, 129; Bartholomae, *Gatha's*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 29-31, 33-43; Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 257-71; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 101-2.

<sup>5</sup> See also Darmesteter, *Etudes*, ii, 213-6; Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 89, 293.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 476. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 103, thinks that the localisation at Babylon shows Babylonian influence on the myth.



In the Pahlavi texts *Azdahāk*, or *Bēvarāsp* ('Possessing Ten Thousand Horses'),<sup>1</sup> is captured by *Farīdūn* and confined in *Damāvand*, where he will be slain by *Sām* (Bd. xxix, 8-9; BYt. iii, 55-61; cf. also Bd. xii, 31; DD xxxvi, 3; xxxvii, 97; lxxv, 5; MX xxvii, 38-9; Dk. VII, i, 32; x, 10; IX, xxi, 1-21; S18 xx, 18), a legend which finds counterparts in the Caucasian story of *Aniran* as well as in the binding of the Norse *Loki*,<sup>2</sup> and which, if the present writer is not mistaken, underlies at least part of the plot of the *Prometheus Vincit*.

*Yim's* *X'arənah* saved the *Frōbak* Fire from *Azdahāk* (Bd. xvii, 5), but the demon aided *Spītūr* to saw *Yim* asunder (ib. xxxi, 5). He was associated with *Babylon* (Dk. VII, iv, 72), and besought favours at the *Spēd* river in *Ātarōpātākān* (Bd. xx, 23). He will not exist after the renovation of the world (DD xxxvii, 121); and if the sword of *Frētūn* had cut him, he would have filled the earth with serpents, toads and other noxious creatures (Dk. IX, xxix, 10), just as when *Indra* slew *Viśvarūpa*, birds came forth from each of the severed heads (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, vi, 33<sup>3-5</sup>; MBh V, ix, 39-42). He commits countless horrible sins, swallows up one-third of the creatures of *Aūharmazd*, smites water, fire, and vegetation (BYt. iii, 57), promotes witchcraft, tyranny, and ignorance (DD lxxii, 3), and practises incest with his mother during the life time and without the consent of his father (ib. lxxviii, 2). As in later Perso-Arabic literature, he is an earthly king (Bd. xxiii, 2; BYt. ii, 62; iii, 34; MX viii, 29; xxvii, 34-5; Dk. VIII, xiii, 8), reigning a thousand years (Bd. xxxi, 7; MX lvii, 24-5), and boasting a long lineage (Bd. xxxi, 6).

In the Manichaean fragments *Azdaḥāg* is occasionally mentioned, two being named in one passage;<sup>3</sup> and he appears as *Biurasp Azdahak* in Armenian literature, where he is identified with *Astyages*,<sup>4</sup> though *al-Bīrūnī*<sup>5</sup> identifies him with *Arbaces*. The word survives in Modern Persian as *azdahā*, 'dragon'.

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 60-1.

<sup>2</sup> W. Müller, 'Kavkazskiya predaniya o Velikanachū. Prikovanuyechū kū Goramū', in *Zhurnal' Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvyēshcheniya*, CCXXV (1883), ii, 100-16, summarised as 'Promethische Sagen im Kaukasus', in *Russische Revue*, xxiii (1883), 193-208; A. Olrik, *Om Ragnarök*, ii (Copenhagen, 1914), 3-140 (for the Iranian, Armenian, and Caucasian versions pp. 3-90; for *Prometheus* pp. 107-21; for *Loki* pp. 121-7).

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 19, 37; Le Coq, *Manichaica*, iii, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. J. B. Ancher, Venice, 1818, i, 101, 102; ii, 190, 196; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 32-3; Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 47-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 100.



The term *āzi-* means 'serpent', but the connotation of the epithet *dahāka-* is obscure. It is scarcely Avestan, for in that case it should have the form *\*dahāka-*. As it stands it is clearly a foreign word derived from a noun *\*dahā-*<sup>1</sup> and is probably connected with *dahaka-*, the designation of a class of demonic beings in Ys. xi, 6. From the association of Dahāka with Babylon and Karind (the latter in the ancient Kassite region, now Kurdistan) it is possible that the name, if of Indo-European origin,<sup>2</sup> was borrowed from Old Persian or some other non-Avestan Iranian dialect, and that it is cognate with Sanskrit *das-*, 'to suffer want, waste away, languish', Sanskrit *dāsā-*, 'foe, demon, infidel', and Modern Persian *dah*, 'annoyance, trouble, imprecations',<sup>3</sup> so that Aži Dahāka would mean 'Injurious Serpent' or the like.

It is equally possible, however, that the term may be cognate with the Avestan *Dāzha-* (Yt. xiii, 144), the Dahae, *Δάοι*, *Δάζι*, of classical authors, a Turanian (i.e. nomadic Iranian)<sup>4</sup> people living east of the Caspian and just north of Hyrcania, their land perhaps being called *\*Dahā* ('Country'; cf. Avestan *dahyu-*, 'country', Modern Persian *dih*, 'village', Sanskrit *dāsā-*, 'slave, servant')<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 498-501.

<sup>2</sup> In the Islāmic period it was arabicised as *Dahhāk* ('Scoffer'), being connected by popular etymology with Arabic *dahika*, 'to laugh'.

<sup>3</sup> F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, London, n. d., p. 547; for the phonology cf. Hübschmann, *Studien*, p. 214. An Old Persian *\*dahā-* might also be connected with Sanskrit *jas-*, 'to fail', Avestan *zah-*, 'to abandon' (cf. further, Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 856; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 292-3; Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, i, 295). For *dāsā-* see especially Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, i, 356-8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 656; Marquart, *Erānšahr*, pp. 155-7; S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 405-6, 425, 471.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 110; Geiger, *OK* pp. 200-2; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 268-77; Macdonell-Keith *Index*, i, 356-8; Keith, *Religion*, p. 234; Horn, *Etymologie*, no. 588; Hübschmann, *Studien*, pp. 64-5; W. Tomaschek, in *PW* iv, 1945-6. Dahae also lived north of Yezd in the time of Cyrus (J. von Präšek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906-10, i, 201). Sanskrit *dāsā-*, 'foe, demon, infidel', and *dāsā-*, 'slave, servant', are perhaps homonyms.

Darmesteter<sup>1</sup> and Carnoy<sup>2</sup> interpret Aži Dahāka as a storm-demon. In this connexion it should be noted that in the Rig Veda (X, xcix, 9) the three-headed, six-eyed Dāsa is slain by Trita or by Indra; and that this Dāsa is either Viśvarūpa ('All-Form'), the son of Tvaṣṭr (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I, vi, 31; cf. RV II, xi, 19; X, viii, 8), or is identified with Vṛtra (Sāyaṇa on RV X, xcix, 9), the Mahābhārata (V, ix, 3, 48; XII, cccxliii, 28, 41) declaring that both Viśvarūpa and Vṛtra are sons of Tvaṣṭr or that Vṛtra rises from the body of the slain Viśvarūpa<sup>3</sup>. In any event the parallelism between Aži Dahāka and Dāsa is remarkably close.

On the whole, the present writer inclines to believe that Dahāka means 'Dahian, relating to the Dahae'. If this be so, there may be a kernel of fact in the Pahlavi and Persian tradition that Aži Dahāka was an earthly and human tyrant, a foreigner who endeavoured to invade Irān.<sup>4</sup> He seems to have been the personification of the Dahae, who may have made at least three forays (whence his epithet 'triple-headed'), the first with some success, since Yima's sisters were carried off as important captives; the second defeated by adherents of the fire-cult (the repulse by Ātar); and the third definitely stopped at a river, probably the Atrak (the final overthrow by Əraētaona).<sup>5</sup> It is also noteworthy that the ultimate victory was won in or near Varəna (Yt. v, 33; xv, 23; Vd. i, 17), which seems best identified with the modern Māzandarān or, still more probably, with Gilān,<sup>6</sup> and which would then be just south of the territory of the Dahae. The ascription of demoniacal powers to a hated neighbour is by no means an unnatural turn of thought and is paralleled by the Samogitian designation of the devil as a German.<sup>7</sup>

On another Aži, described as 'horned, horse-devouring, man-devouring, venomous, yellow, poison-spitting, horrible', over whom 'yellow poison flowed a cubit deep', Kərəsāspa, evidently ignorant that it was a sentient being, sought to cook his

<sup>1</sup> *Ormazd*, pp. 69, 102-7, 127, 217, 224, 228; id. *ZA* i, 86, note 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Mythology*, pp. 265-6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 160; Keith, *Religion*, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. especially the account given by Firdausī (ŠN pp. 28 sqq.).

<sup>5</sup> For Əraētaona as a water-god see above, pp. 161-2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *ERE* viii, 507, and the views there summarised. Ptolemy (VI, ii, 8) mentions a *Oṽxprv* in the interior of Media and (VI, xi, 6) the *Oṽxprv* as a Bactrian people.

<sup>7</sup> C. Jurkschat, *Litauische Märchen und Erzählungen*, Heidelberg, 1898, p. 51.

midday meal. Feeling the fire, the serpent started violently and severely frightened the hero, though he finally slew it (Ys. ix, 11; Yt. xix, 40; cf. Aog. 78; Dk. VII, i, 32; IX, xv, 2; MX xxvii, 50; SD ix, 5; Pahlavi Rivāyat, tr. E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 374). Haoma's aid was invoked against it (Ys. ix, 30), and it was notorious for highway robbery, witchcraft, and violence (Dk. VII, ii, 4; VIII, xxxv, 13; IX, x, 3). It is very possible that this serpent reappears as the Aži Višāpa of Nir. 48 (cf. the Syriac loan-word *vəšap*), which, under a North Iranian form *\*vəšāpa-* from *\*veišāpa-*, was borrowed by the Armenians as Višap, 'Dragon', of whom many tales are told.<sup>1</sup>

The Šāh-Nāmah<sup>2</sup> localises the place where this monster was killed at the river Kašaf (the modern Kašaf or Mašhad Rūd), and it may be suggested that the legend had its origin in the configuration of some of the hills which border the stream and which were supposed to be the petrified dragon.<sup>3</sup> The tradition, which at first glance would appear to be a version of the 'Island-Fish' cycle,<sup>4</sup> seems from the scanty data at disposal to be distinctly inland in source.

### Section C.

#### DRUJ.

The title of Druj ('Lie') is given to demons in general (Yt. ii, 11; cf. Ys. lxi, 5; Yt. i, 28; xiii, 71) and is also applied to Aži Dahāka (Ys. ix, 8; Yt. v, 34), Nasu (Vd. vii, 1-3; viii, 41 sqq.), and perhaps to Būti (Vd. xix, 1-3) and Aθra Mainyu (Vd. xix, 12). In the Gāthās the Druj is the special foe of Aša (Ys. xxx, 8; xxxi, 1; xxxii, 12; xlv, 14; xlviii, 1; cf. xlv, 13), but is overcome by the increase of Xšaθra (Ys. xxxi, 4; cf. Vd. xx, 8). The demon seeks to destroy all goodness (Ys. xxx, 10; xlix, 3),

<sup>1</sup> E. Benveniste, 'L'Origine du višap arménien', in *REA* viii (1927), 7-9; cf. Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 247. For the Armenian Višap see M. Ananikian, in *ERE* i, 799-800, and *Mythology*, pp. 76-82; Abeghian, *Volks Glaube*, pp. 78-83.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 194: 18-196: 12; cf. the legend of the two dragons (one at Tūs) killed by Sām (ib. p. 1668: 4-12).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Geiger, *OK* pp. 118-20; for petrification in folk-tales see J. A. MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, p. 156, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. Runeberg, 'Le Conte de l'île-poisson', in *Mémoires de la société néo-philologique à Helsingfors*, iii (1902), 345-94; Cornelia C. Coulter, 'The "Great Fish" in Ancient Story', in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, lvii (1926), 32-50.

has a special community (xxxiii, 4 ; xlvi, 6 ; liii, 6) as well as a special creation (li, 10), and is associated with Pairimati (xxxii, 3), while the 'house of the Druj' is a synonym for hell (xlvi, 11 ; xlix, 11 ; li, 14).

In the Younger Avesta the Druj, who dwells in the north (Yt. iii, 17 ; Vd. viii, 21), seeks to destroy life (Ys. lvii, 15) and the creation of Aša (Yt. iii, 17 ; xix, 12 ; Vd. viii, 21 ; xviii, 55), being an enemy both of Aša (Yt. x, 86) and of Zaratustra (Vd. xix, 46). The demon is, however, conquered by Aša (Yt. x, 86 ; xix, 12, 95) ; by Sraoša (Ys. lvii, 15), who holds a long colloquy with the fiend (Vd. xviii, 30-59), whom the Pahlavi version here identifies with Uda, though others preferred identification with Xašm (Aēšma) or Ahriman ; by Spəntō-đāta, son of Vištāspa (VYt. 25) ; by Mašra Spənta (Yt. iv, 5) ; and by the Saošyant Astvašt-ərəta (Yt. xiii, 129 ; xix, 93). Kept at a distance by Ham-varəti (Yt. xi, 2) and by Sraoša (Yt. xi, 3), the Druj is weakened if word is brought even once to the sacred fire or by a single spreading of the *barsom* (P 24) ; but were it not for the Fravašis, the demon would be victorious and would destroy the material world (Yt. xiii, 12). The kine of the pious are driven away to the Druj's abode, which has its exit at the 'Neck of Arəzūra'<sup>1</sup> (Vd. iii, 7), but are restored by Mišra (Yt. x, 86). Aərəa Mainyu sides with this fiend (Yt. xiii, 13), with whom he is apparently identified (Yt. xi, 14 ; cf. Vd. xix, 12) ; and the demon is not only found by him who offers corpse-defiled water as a libation (Vd. vii, 78-9), but is impregnated by various sorts of wicked men (Vd. xviii, 31-2, 34-5, 40-1, 46-7). The fiend is once termed Draoga and is associated with Nasu (Vd. xix, 46).

In the Pahlavi texts *drūj* is used in the sense of 'a demoness, a she-devil ; usually the personification of an evil habit, or besetting sin' ;<sup>2</sup> and Drūjāskān (cf. the Drujas-kanā- of Vd. xix, 41), the name of the lowest part of hell (DD xxxiii, 4), is once (Bd. xxxi, 6) said to be a son of Ahriman. The Pahlavi version of the Avesta occasionally identifies the Druj with Ahriman (Ys. xxx, 10) or with Indra (Ys. xlvi, 1).

The demon has as exclusive Avestan epithets *aka-* ('evil'), *ašaojah-* ('very strong'), *ahūm-mərmč-* ('life-destroying'),

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 200- ; and for Druj in general see Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 50-2, 59, 164-6, 262-4.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. West and M. Haug, *Glossary and Index of the . . . Ardæ Viraf*, Bombay, 1874, pp. 262-3.

*tamarhaēna-* ('consisting of darkness'), *daēva-* ('demonic') *duššibra-* ('possessing an evil appearance' [or, 'seed']), and *bizōrō-ōibra-* ('possessing two-legged seed').

In the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius Drauga seems to figure as a maleficent being. Waxing mighty, Drauga causes rebellion (Bh. i, 34; iv, 34), so that the King exhorts his successors to guard against the demon (Bh. iv, 37) and implores Auramazdā for protection from Hainā, Dušiyāra, and Drauga (Dar. Pers. d, 13-24).<sup>1</sup> The other versions, however, do not personify Drauga, the Babylonian text having *paršātu* ('lies') in line 14=Old Persian Bh. i, 34, while the Elamitic translation has the collective *tiutkime* ('totality of lies, falsehood')<sup>2</sup> and an Aramaic fragment<sup>3</sup> has כרבים ('liars') corresponding to Bh. iv, 37.

In the Rig Veda Drúh is used either of a single fiend (VII, lix, 8; X, xlviii, 10) or of a class of demons (III, xxxi, 19; cf. VII, lxi, 5) hostile to Indra (I, cxxxiii, 1) and conquered by him (I, cxxi, 4; IV, xxiii, 7; cf. IV, xxviii, 2) or by Brahmanas Pati (II, xxiii, 17) or by Uṣas (VII, lxxv, 1). Agni is once (I, cxxvii, 3) called *druhamtarā-* ('Druh-conquering'), and Śuṣṇa ('Drought') is termed Drúh (VI, xx, 5).<sup>4</sup>

The Avestan *druj-* and *draoga-*, like the Old Persian *drauga-*, appear in Pahlavi as *drōg* and in Modern Persian as *durōg*, 'lie', the group being cognate with Sanskrit *druh-*, 'to hurt, seek to injure', Old High German *triogan*, 'to deceive', Old Icelandic *draugr*, Anglo-Saxon *dreæg*, Old Saxon *gi-drōg*, Old High German *gi-trōg*, Old Irish *aurdrach*, 'ghost, phantom'.<sup>5</sup> The primary meaning of the Indo-European base *\*dhreughe-* is 'deceive', as is shown not merely by the Iranian and Teutonic cognates, but also by Latin *fraus*, 'deceit', Sanskrit *dhrūti-*, 'leading astray', *dhūrta-*, 'fraudulent', etc., so that the Sanskrit connotation of *druh-* seems to be a special development of 'deceive, deceive with injurious consequences, injure' (cf. such Sanskrit compounds as *adrūh-*, 'not injuring, beneficent', *antakadrūh-*, 'death-demon', *garbhabhartṛdruh-*, 'destroying embryo and husband', *purudrūh-*, 'much-injuring', *mitradruh-*, 'friend-injuring, treacherous' [contrast, with another semantic evolution, Avestan *miθrō-drug-*, 'deceiving Miθra']).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tolman, *Lexicon*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 14-5.

<sup>3</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, pp. 253, 259.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 215-7.

<sup>5</sup> See further Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 313-4.

The Druj has been interpreted as 'an embodiment of the spirit of evil whose work Ahriman represents',<sup>1</sup> or as Aṛra Mainyu himself.<sup>2</sup> We have already seen that the male demons Aži Dahāka, Aṛra Mainyu, and even Indra are Drujes, whereas Būti (?), Nasu, and the Druj interrogated by Sraoša are female. The Rig Veda likewise knows both male and female Drūhs (I, cxxi, 4; IV, xxviii, 2; VI, xx, 5, as contrasted with I, cxxxiii, 1; III, xxxi, 19; IV, xxiii, 7; X, lxxiii, 2). The Old Persian records, on the other hand, have only the masculine Drauga (cf. Avestan *draōga*-, Sanskrit *drógha*-, 'injury'). The Druj is, as we have also observed, the special foe of Aša and of Sraoša, though the demon can scarcely be identified with their arch-enemies Indra and Aēšma.<sup>3</sup>

It would seem that two chief Drujes must be distinguished; one male (the Old Persian Drauga, the Draoga of Vd. xix, 46; cf. also Yt. xi, 14), and the other female (Ys. li, 10; lvii, 15; Yt. xiii, 129; xix, 95; Vd. xviii, 30-59).

The male Drauga-Draoga-Druj is probably identical with Aṛra Mainyu, as is implied by Yt. xi, 14; Vd. xix, 12; and the Pahlavi gloss on Ys. xxx, 10. The female Druj is apparently his counterpart, i.e., the chief goddess of the underworld and, by a development analogous to that of Aṛra Mainyu,<sup>4</sup> the chief she-devil. As a goddess of the nether realm, and so of darkness, she naturally seeks to destroy the bright creation of Aša-Ātar, but is conquered by him and Sraoša, and is held in check by the Fravašis (the righteous dead). The underworld nature of both Drujes is shown by the term 'home of the Druj(es)' as a synonym for deepest hell (*Drujō dāmāna*-, Ys. xlvi, 11; xlix, 11; *Drujas-kanā*-, Vd. xix, 41; cf. *Drujō vaēsmən*- in Yt. x, 86 [?], and *Drūjaskān* in DD xxxiii, 4). The female Druj would accordingly appear to be the antithesis of Ārmaiti and to find analogues in the Lettish Kapu Māte ('Mother of Graves') and Velu Māte ('Mother of the Dead');<sup>5</sup> the Gaulish Aeracura, consort of Dis Pater<sup>6</sup>; the Roman Acca Larentina, Carna, and

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, *Zoroastrianism* p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 49, 136; id. *Treasure*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 181-2, 185-7.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 177-80.

<sup>5</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 107, 108; K. Mühlénbach, *Lettish-deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. J. Endzelin, Riga, 1923 sqq., ii, 587, 588.

<sup>6</sup> MacCulloch, *Religion*, pp. 37, 44.

Laverna;<sup>1</sup> the Norse Hel;<sup>2</sup> and—in certain aspects—the Greek Persephone.<sup>3</sup>

In view of the Old Irish *aurdrach*, Old Icelandic *draugr*, Anglo-Saxon *dreæg*, Old Saxon *gi-drōg*, Old High German *gi-trōg*, 'phantom', it is possible that *druj-* may have meant not merely 'deceiver', but also 'phantom, ghost', so that the *Drujes* as a class were primarily the spirits of the malignant dead, opposed by the *Fravašis*, the souls of the benignant departed.

Throughout the Avesta *drəvant-*, *drvant-* means 'adherent of the *Druj*, wicked, fiendish', just as its antithesis *ašavan-* signifies 'adherent of *Aša*, righteous, holy';<sup>4</sup> an opposition which re-appears in the hostility between the *Druj* and *Aša*. If, however, the *Druj* was the consort of the underworld-god *Aərə Mainyu* and the goddess of the nether realm and of darkness, *drəvant-* may earlier have meant 'adherent of the underworld-deities' (applying thus both to the female *Druj* and to *Drauga-Draoga-Druj-Aərə Mainyu*), particularly as devoted to nocturnal worship,<sup>5</sup> in opposition to *ašavan-*, the votary of the bright fire-cult of *Aša-Ātar*.<sup>6</sup>

#### Section D.

#### PAIRIKĀ.

The *Pairikā* ('She Who Surroundeth' [?]) is usually described as a mere earthly witch (Yt. x, 26; xiii, 104) associated with the *yātu-* ('sorcerer'; Ys. ix, 18; Yt. i, 6, 10; iii, 5; iv, 3; v, 26; vi, 4; viii, 12, 44; x, 34; xi, 6; xiii, 135; xv, 12; xix, 26, 28-9; Sir. ii, 13; Vd. viii, 80; xx, 10, 12). She can assume the form of a shooting star and is then conquered by *Tištrya* (Yt. viii, 8). The term *Pairikā* is applied to *Dužyārya* (Yt. viii, 51, 53-5), *Mūš* (Ys. xvi, 8; lxviii, 8), and *Xnaəraitī* (Vd. i, 9; xix, 5). The Sanskrit version of the Avesta usually renders the term by *mahārākṣasī-* ('great demoness'; Ys. ix, 8; Yt. i, 6, 10; vi, 4).

<sup>1</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 233-4, 236; W. H. Roscher, in Roscher, i, 4-6; Wissowa, ib. i, 854-5; ii, 1917-8, and in PW i, 131-4; E. Aust, ib. iii, 1597-8; Latte-Fiesel, ib. xii, 998-9.

<sup>2</sup> P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, pp. 280-1; E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 865, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> For Avestan references see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 774-7 and 246-53 respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 58, 72, 129-30. <sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 43-4.



The word appears in Pahlavi as *parik*, 'witch', and in Modern Persian as *pari*, 'fairy'; in Armenian the borrowed term *parik* is used to denote a fabulous being dwelling in ruined cities,<sup>1</sup> and Hōšāng numbered Paris in his army together with leopards, lions, wolves, tigers, and birds (SN p. 17: 2-3). Paris, men, and *dēvs* became slaves of Kay Kā'ūs (ib. p. 408: 12). While Bēžan was sleeping under a cypress during a 'Turānian' festival, a *Parī* flew with him in her arms until she reached the escort of Manēžah, daughter of Afrāsiyāb; invoking Ahri-man, she descended to earth, laid Bēžan in the litter of the princess, pronounced over her a charm which caused her to become enamoured of him, and then bore him, still sleeping, to the palace of Afrāsiyāb (ib. p. 1083: 2-15).

The word seems to have had no especially sinister connotation, for an eminent Parsi theologian was named *Parik* (Pahlavi version of Vd. viii, 31, 35; xiii, 48; Nīr. pp. 39<sup>b</sup>. 15, 178<sup>a</sup>. 8), *Parizada* ('*Parī's Daughter*') is the heroine of a late tale in the *Arabian Nights*,<sup>2</sup> and Persian literature abounds in such complimentary descriptives as *parīrux* ('possessing a cheek like a *Parī's*'), *parīčihra*, and *parīrūy* ('possessing a face like a *Parī's*'), though one also finds *paridār* ('magician' [lit. '*Parī*-holder']), *parīraft šudan* ('to be convulsed from evil dreams' [lit. 'gone to the *Parī*']; cf. Yt. xiii, 104]), and *parīgirifta* ('soothsayer' [lit. '*Parī*-seized']).

The *Pairikā* seems to have been a being of the general nature of the Indian *Rākṣasī*, evil on the whole, yet capable of assuming a beautiful form. Like the *Pairikā* as a shooting star, the *Rakṣas* was embodied in a falling meteor (*Kausika Sūtra* cxxvi, 9); and as the *Pairikā* was associated with the *yātu*, the *Rakṣas* occasionally appears in company with the *yātudhāna* (RV I, xxxv, 10; VII, civ, 16; X, lxxxvii, 9, 25),<sup>3</sup> Geiger, however, explains<sup>4</sup> the *Pairikās* as originally women of foreign tribes who seduced pious Mazdayasnians from the way of virtue.

<sup>1</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 228; Eznik, tr. Schmid, pp. 78, 79; a being of this sort is probably meant in the story of the King's son and the ogress in the *Arabian Nights* (dlxxxi-dlxxxii; tr. Payne, v, 273-4).

<sup>2</sup> Tr. Burton, iv, 502 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 162-4; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 237-8. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strasbourg, 1915, pp. 38-44.

<sup>4</sup> OK pp. 81-2, 112-3. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 173-7, considered her a demonic nymph who robs men and gods of the celestial waters.



The etymology of the word is uncertain,<sup>1</sup> but it may be suggested that *pairikā*-, as the word must be read by the evidence of its Pahlavi and Modern Persian equivalents, is parallel in formation with Sanskrit *ánika*-, 'face': Greek *ἐνί*, 'in' (cf. Avestan *aínika*:- Sanskrit *ánika*:- written Avestan *pairikā*:- \**parikā*-); Sanskrit *abhāka*-, 'meeting': *abhā*-, 'toward'; *prātika*-, 'surface, aspect': *prāti*-, 'against, toward' (cf. also Sanskrit *apiciā*-, 'secret, hidden': *āpi*-, 'in, near'; *nīca*-, 'low': *nī*-, 'down,' Old Church Slavic *niči*-, 'prone');<sup>2</sup> Greek *πέριξ*-, 'round about': *περί*-, 'around'; Latin *antiquos*-, 'ancient': *ante*-, 'before'; *posticus*-, 'posterior': *post*-, 'after'.<sup>3</sup> The *Pairikā* would then be originally 'the surrounding one, enchantress', the development of meaning being similar to that of Sanskrit *abhicāra*-, 'enchantment, bewitchment,' from *abhi-car*-, 'to go around'. Güntert, on the other hand,<sup>4</sup> regards the *Pairikās* as demonesses of fulness opposed to *Pārendi*,<sup>5</sup> and as originally female genii of fertility, and adds: "Since, as fertility-goddesses, they were naturally incarnations of sensuality and were, accordingly, gifted with all the seductive charms of the feminine body, one can understand how, in Zoroaster's religion, their sexual character makes them appear as servants of the devil who tempts to lust, and can equally comprehend their modern rôle of gentle, charm-decked maidens of the Paradise which is described in such glowing colours'. He connects *pairikā*- with the Indo-European base \**pelē*-, 'to fill', Latin *plēnus*-, 'full', etc.,<sup>6</sup> and also thinks that it may be cognate, in view of the Indo-Iranian confusion of *l* and *r*, with the Roman *Parcae* ('Fates'), who were originally birth-goddesses,<sup>7</sup> Latin *pario*-, 'to bring forth, bear', etc.<sup>8</sup> Thurneysen<sup>9</sup> connects *pairikā*- with Old Irish *airech*-, 'concubine'; Walde-Pokorny,<sup>10</sup> with Greek

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *ZIW* pp. 189-90; O. Wiedemann, in *BB* xxvii (1907), 26.

<sup>2</sup> See Brugmann, II, i, 480-2 (for \**peri* ib., II, ii, 865-8; Delbrück, *Syntax*, i, 700-11; for *pairi* in Iranian Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 860-2); A. Thumb, *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, Heidelberg, 1905, pp. 219-20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 48, 604.

<sup>4</sup> *KZ* xlv (1913), 201-2, and *Reimwortbildungen*, p. 209, note.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 155-6.

<sup>6</sup> For further cognates of this base see Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 63-5.

<sup>7</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 264.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 561, 562; Müller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 321 Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 41-2.

<sup>9</sup> *IF* xlii (1924), 143.

<sup>10</sup> *Wörterbuch*, ii, 7; for the Greek word see also Boisacq, *Dictionnaire* pp. 743-4.

παλλακίς, 'concubine', πάλλας, 'youth, maiden', παλλάς, a conventional epithet of the goddess Athene. No definite conclusion as yet seems possible.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE MINOR FIENDS.

THE following demons are merely mentioned with no hint as to their functions, while even their names are of unknown meaning: Būdi, Būdižā, Mūdi (Vd. xi, 9, 12). Būji, Raši, Haši,<sup>1</sup> Saēnyā, Ustra Vairya, and Urusta (Yt. iv, 2, 3). Allusion is similarly made to classes of fiends (or perhaps only of wicked human beings): Ayəhyā and Kaxuži (Vd. xii, 17), glossed in the Pahlavi version by *anāvētān* ('uncultivated, uninhabited') and *gadman kastār* ('fortune-destroying'); Kaēta (Yt. viii, 5), seemingly reformed from evil ways;<sup>2</sup> and Dahaka, Mūraka, and Varšna (Ys. xi, 6), the antitheses of the Ahurian priests, warriors, and agriculturists, explained in the Pahlavi version as 'destroyers, injurers, and busybodies';<sup>3</sup> and the Kaxvarədas of both sexes (Ys. lxi, 2; lxxii, 2; cf. Yt. iii, 9, 12; 16), perhaps mere human sorcerers and witches.<sup>4</sup>

The minor fiends concerning whom some details are given are, in alphabetical sequence, as follows.

#### 1. AĪRĀŠ.

Aīrāš ('Evil Eye') is 'the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with (his) eye' (Bd. xxviii, 33), his name being derived from the Avestan *aṛašay-* ('evil eye'; Vd. xx, 3, 7).<sup>5</sup>

#### 2. AKATAŠ.

The demon Akataš ('Creator of Evil') is twice mentioned in the Avesta as associated with Aēšma (Vd. x, 13; xix, 43), his function being 'to make the creatures averse from proper things' (Bd. xxviii, 20; cf. Dk. IX, ix, 1).

<sup>1</sup> Glossed in the Persian version as 'trouble and affliction, the demon of rage', and as 'anger' (*xašm*) respectively (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 517, 1799).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 428.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* coll. 704, 1189, 1380.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Armenian loan-word *kaxard* 'wizard' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 462; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 991).

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae *AirWb.* col. 98; E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 111, note 4; cf. L. J. Frachtenberg, in *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1918, pp. 419-24; for the entire subject see F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, and his summary in *ERE* v, 608-15.

## 3. ANĀSTĀPĀNĪH.

The fiend Anāstāpānīh ('Instability'), named (AD 1, 4) in company with Nasrūšt and Ašgahānīh as a Druj hindering the devotions of the righteous at daybreak, is overcome by reciting the Xuršēd Nyāiš (Ny. i).

## 4. ANĀXŠTI.

The demoness Anāxšti ('Dissention') is once mentioned (Ys. ix, 5) as conquered by Āxšti. She finds analogues in the Greek Eris<sup>1</sup> and the Lithuanian strife-goddess Zallus.<sup>2</sup>

## 5. AOŠA.

The fiend Aoša ('Destruction' [?]) is said (Vd. xvii, 1-2) to be honoured by permitting hair-combings or nail-parings to fall into hollows in the ground. The Pahlavi gloss, misinterpreting the name, renders it by *gōbišnō* ('speech'). In reality it seems to be cognate with Sanskrit *ca-*, 'burning', Pahlavi and Modern Persian *hōš*, 'destruction, ruin, perdition, death';<sup>3</sup> and its bearer appears to have been the deity presiding over combings of hair and clippings of nails, whose importance in religion is wide-spread.<sup>4</sup>

## 6. APAOŠA.

In the form of a hideous, mangy black horse the demon Apaoša ('Parching Away') fights Tištrya for three days near Lake Vouru-kaša, his temporary victory endangering waters, plants, and Daēnā, his defeat saving them (Yt. viii, 21-9; cf. Bd. vii, 8-10; ZS vi, 9-11; DD xciii, 11, 13). He is also conquered by Tištrya, Vāta, and X<sup>var</sup>ənah (Yt. xviii, 2, 6). In the Pahlavi texts Apāōš is aided by Aspenjargāk in the battle waged against the rain sent by Tištar (Bd. vii, 12; xxviii, 39; ZS ix, 13; Dk. III, cxii, 5). The name is etymologically connected with Greek ἀφύω, 'to singe off,'<sup>5</sup> and the demon seems to be the one who presides over the scorching heat of summer.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1083; W. Deecke, in Roscher, i, 1337-9; Waser in PW vi, 463-6.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. E. Sikes and L. H. Gray, 'Hair and Nails', in *ERE* vi, 474-7. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 153, regards him as the demon of death by fire.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 72.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 72; cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 120. J. Wackernagel, in *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte... Ernst Kuhn... gewidmet*, Breslau, 1916, pp. 158-9, reconstructs the name as \*Axp (a<sup>x</sup>) vurt- ('Water-Restrainer').

## 7. ARĀITI.

Arāiti (Avarice) is once mentioned (Ys. lx, 5) as conquered by Rāiti, who may be identical with Rātā, the deity of bounteousness.<sup>1</sup> The demon is the Iranian analogue of the Vedic Arātis (RV II, xxxviii, 9; III, xviii, 1; xxiv, 1; IV, xxvi, 7; xxvii, 2; V, ii, 6; VII, i, 7; VIII, ix, 1; lx, 4; IX, xcvii, 10; AV I, xviii, 1; XII, ii, 45; XIV, ii, 19), and especially of the Arāti to whom AV V, vii, is addressed.<sup>2</sup>

## 8. ARAŠK.

The demon Arašk ('Envy') is described (Bd. xxviii, 14) as 'the spiteful fiend of the evil eye' and is associated with Mitōxt and Aēšm (ib. § 16). He sought to teach mankind Zarvanism and to corrupt Zoroaster's orthodoxy, being 'the most deceitful of demons' (Dk. IX, xxx, 4-5; xxxi, 6-10). His name occurs as a common noun, *araska-*, in Ys. ix, 5,<sup>3</sup> and he finds an analogue in the Greek Phthonos.<sup>4</sup>

## 9. ARĀST.

The fiend Arāst ('Untruth') is once mentioned (Bd. xxviii, 32) as 'he who speaks falsehood'.

## 10. ARĒZŪRA.

From this demon, whose name is quite uncertain in meaning, a mountain received the appellation of 'Head (or, 'Neck') of Arēzūra' (Vd. iii, 7; xix, 44, 45), 'a summit at the gate of hell where they always hold the concourse of the demons' (Bd. xii, 8; cf. SĪS xiii, 19; DD xxxiii, 5).<sup>5</sup> The fiend was slain by Gāyōmart (MX xxvii, 14), whence Darmesteter<sup>6</sup> identifies him with al-Birūnī's Xrūra, a son of Ahriman who met this same fate.<sup>7</sup> His name may possibly be connected with Avestan *arəza-*, 'battle', or (much more plausibly) with *arəza-* 'straight' (i.e. precipitous). In any case his mountain finds a parallel in the German Brocken and is probably to be identified

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 164; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 211, 239.

<sup>3</sup> For the etymology see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 187, 206; Gūntert; *Reimwortbildungen*, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1068, note 1; 1074, note 4; O. Höfer, in Roscher, iii, 2473-5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> ZA i, 334, note 31; ii, 35, note 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 108.

with Damāvand, where Aži Dahāka lies bound (Bd. xii, 31 ; xxix, 9).<sup>1</sup> As a volcano-god Arəzūra finds a divine antithesis in Ušidarəna and other holy hills.<sup>2</sup>

### 11. AŠGAHĀNIH.

The fiend Ašgahānih ('Slothfulness'), mentioned (AD I, 3) in company with Nasrūšt and Anāstāpānih as a Druj hindering the devotions of the righteous at day-break, is overcome by reciting the Ātaš Nyāiš (Ny. v).

### 12. ASRUŠTI.

The demoness Asrušti ('Disobedience') is mentioned only twice in the Avesta, once in a Gāthic passage (Ys. xxxiii, 4) which speaks of her together with Aka Manah, and again in Ys. ix, 5, where she is conquered by Sraoša.

### 13. ASTŌ-VĪĀTU.

Protection from Astō-vīdātu ('Body-Dissolution') and Aēšma is besought from Sraoša (Ys. lvii, 25) or from Miēra (Yt. x, 93); and Astō-vīdātu, together with Vaya, destroys life (Vd. v, 8-9), this being, indeed, the reason for his creation, so that none can escape him (Aog. 57-73; cf. Bd. xxviii, 35; Dk. IX, xii, 17; xvi, 1-2). Ahriman sent him to cast the fatal noose on Gāyōmarš (Bd. iii, 21-2; ZS iv, 4; cf. DD xxxvii, 108; Dk. III, ccclix, 3; PVM 141), and he is associated with many other fiends (DD xxxvii, 44, 51-2; cf. 106). He is the chief of the Māzainyan demons (DD xxxvii, 81) and is identified with Vāi the Bad (Bd. xviii, 35; Gd. Bd. pp. 47 : 15-48 : 1;<sup>3</sup> but cf. also Vd. v, 8-9; DD xxxvii, 52). He is one of the evil assessors at the judgement of the soul (MX ii, 115, 117, 153) and separates life from the body (Dk. V, xix, 1).

Astō-vīdātu seems to be the deity of the death agony, his noose finding an Indian analogue in the noose of Yama as a death-god (MBh. III, ccxcvi, 9, 13, 17-9, 55), though he is more closely parallel with the Greek Thanatos, the Roman Mors,

<sup>1</sup> Geiger, *OK* pp. 130-1; Justi, *Geographie*, ii, 3; and especially J. J. Modi, 'Mount Arəzūra of the Avesta, a Volcanic Mountain', in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 188-96. Jackson, *PPP* p. 124, suggests identification with Mount Zindan. Cf. above, p. 188

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 165-6

<sup>3</sup> Tr. E. Blochet, in *RHR* xxxiii (1895), 111.

Morta, the Lithuanian Giltinië,<sup>1</sup> and especially the later Vedic Mrtyu (AV IV, viii, 1 ; xxxv, 1-6 ; V, xxiv, 13 ; xxviii, 8 ; xxx, 12 ; VI, cxxxiii, 3 ; VII, lxx, 1 ; VIII, i, 17-9, 21 ; x, 23 ; IX, x, 24 ; XII, ii, 21, 23, 29-30 ; iii, 55-60 ; v, 55 ; XVII, i, 29-30 ; XVIII, ii, 27 ; XIX, ix, 10 ; xx, 1).

#### 14. ĀZI.

In the Avesta Āzi ('Greed') appears as a foe of Ātar, perhaps especially at night (Vd. xviii, 19, 21-2), but is overcome by the milk and fat of the sacrifice (Ys. xvi, 8 ; lxviii, 8) or by Xvarenah (Yt. xviii, 1). The Pahlavi texts represent him as the demon of gluttony, covetousness, and greed (Bd. xxviii, 27-8 ; DD xxxvii, 51, 105) who, with Ahriman, will remain after all others have been conquered, only Aūharmazd being able to vanquish them (Bd. xxx, 30). He is associated with Akōman, Varen, Andar (Dk. IX, xxxii, 3), and other fiends (ib. V, vii, 2) ; and he inflicts on the new-born child its second woe, hunger (ib. III, ccclxxiv, 4). He seems to be the 'demon of covetousness' mentioned in Chinese Manichaean documents.<sup>2</sup>

In the historic period Āzi was clearly regarded as the demon of greed<sup>3</sup> ; yet this function scarcely explains his antagonism to Ātar, and his real analogue seems to be the Vedic Rakṣas, nocturnal fiends lusting after women and perilous to children, greedy for human flesh and blood, entering the body of man, foes of the sacrifice, and especially opposed by Agni.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the name Āzi is an abbreviation of a forgotten compound cultic epithet, 'he who has greed,' the surviving member of the descriptive colouring the later conception of the fiend.

#### 15. BŪŠYASTĀ.

When the cock crows at dawn, the demoness Būšyastā ('What-will-be-ness') seeks to detain all the world in slumber and counsels the righteous not merely to sleep on, but also to desert good

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe, *Mythology*, p. 1070, note 9 ; O. Waser, in Roscher, v. 481-527 ; R. Peter, ib. ii, 3218-20 ; Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 91, 368.

<sup>2</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Trauite*, pp. 523-5, 533, 556.

<sup>3</sup> G. Haas, 'The Zoroastrian Demon Āz in the Manichaean Fragments from Turfan', in *Indo-Iranian Studies . . . in Honour of Shams-ul-Ūlma Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana*, London, 1925, pp. 193-5.

<sup>4</sup> Bergaigne, *Religion*, ii, 216-7 ; iii, 189-90, 192 ; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 95, 163-4 ; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 237-8. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 156, regards āzi as the demon of cupidity. The views of Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 153-4, are based on a faulty etymology.

thoughts, words, and deeds for their direct opposites (Vd. xviii, 15-7, 23-5). She is associated with Aṇra Mainyu, Aēšma, and all spiritual Daēvas (Yt. x, 97, 134; cf. xviii, 2; Vd. xi, 9). In the Pahlavi texts she causes slothfulness (Bd. xxviii, 26; cf. Dk. III, cccxxiv, 5), weakens the breath, and is named in company with many other fiends (DD xxxvii, 44, 51). In Judaeo-Persian (e.g., Isa. xxix, 7-8) **בישאך** is used in the sense of 'vision, dream.'<sup>1</sup>

Būšyastā shares with Aṇra Mainyu the Avestan epithet *mairya-* ('deceitful') and has as her exclusive adjectives *darəyō-gava-* ('long-handed') and *zairina-* ('putting to sleep'). The formation of her name is comparable with the Sanskrit *bhaviṣyatlā-*, 'futurity.'<sup>2</sup> Though usually regarded as the demoness of sloth,<sup>3</sup> she seems rather to have been the deity of fatalism in its malign aspect as paralysing human endeavour, the concept being paralleled by such a passage as Hitopadesa i, 29: "What will not be, that will not be; and what will be, (can) not (be) otherwise"—this is a slothful saying of some incapable of performing (their) duty.'

## 16. BŪTI.

In the Avesta the fiend Būti, who is seemingly termed a Druj, but whose name is of uncertain meaning, is associated without further details with Marsavan (Vd. xix, 1-3), while in the Pahlavi texts besides assailing Zaratūšt (Dk. VII, iv, 37) he is said to be 'he whom they worship among the Hindūs, and his growth is lodged in idols' (Bd. xxviii, 34). The name was connected by Darmesteter<sup>4</sup> with the Sanskrit *Buddha*, and by West<sup>5</sup> and Horn<sup>6</sup> with Sanskrit *bhūta-*, 'ghost, demon.' Modern Persian *but*, 'idol, darling.' Closer analogues, however, seem to exist in the Sanskrit *bhūti-*, 'existence, welfare,' Greek *φύσις*, 'nature,' Lithuanian *buitis*, 'existence;'<sup>7</sup> and it may be a component of the Old Persian proper name Βούτης, and of the Pahlavi Būtin.<sup>8</sup> The view that Būti was the demon of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, in *SWAW* cxxvi (1892), I, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. Bartholomae, in *KZ* xxix (1888), 547).

<sup>3</sup> e.g., Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 970; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 114; cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 180-2.

<sup>4</sup> *ZA* iii, p. xlviii, note 2 (cf. ii, 259, note 4).

<sup>5</sup> In *SBE* v, 111, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> In *GirP* i, b, 80.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Trautmann, *Worterbuch*, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 74.

idolatry is apparently due to the popular connexion of his name with *but* as early as the Pahlavi period; but in view of the paucity of evidence it is wisest to confess ignorance as to his true nature. His appellation is perhaps an abbreviation of some compound of which *būti-* was a component.

### 17. ČĪŠMAK.

The fiend Čīšmak ('[De]ranger' [?]) is described in Bd. xxviii, 24, as causing disaster and raising the whirlwind, and thus he partly destroys the village sheltering the infant, Zarātūst (Dk. VII, ii, 44-5). Whirlwind demons are known in modern India.<sup>1</sup> The name is perhaps connected with the Avestan *kaēš-*, 'struere,' representing an original *\*k(e)-is-mo-go-*.

### 18. DAWI.

The demoness Dawi ('Deceit') is mentioned together with several other fiends in Vd. xix, 43, but without any details, De Harlez<sup>2</sup> and Darmesteter<sup>3</sup>, following the Pahlavi rendering *frēftār* ('deceiver'), consider her the fiend of deceit, whereas Bartholomae<sup>4</sup> views her as the demoness of some illness or infirmity. Her name, however, seems to support the former interpretation (cf. Avestan *dab-*, 'to deceive', Armenian *dav*, 'craft, plot').<sup>5</sup>

### 19. DĒR.

According to SD lxxxix, 14-7, Dēr ('Long'), together with Pas, is entrusted by Ahriman with keeping man from doing his duty, Dēr informing him that 'thou wilt live long, and it is possible to perform this at all times.'

### 20. DRIWI.

The demon Driwi is once mentioned (Vd. xix, 43) together with Būti, Dawi, Kasvīš, Paitīša, and other fiends, but with no indication of her functions, the meaning of her name being equally obscure<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> *Avesta*, p. cxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA* ii, 275, note 130.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 680.

<sup>5</sup> *ib.*; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 438.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cxxviii; Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 275, note 129; Bartholomae, *ZIW* pp. 176-7; J. Charpentier, in *KZ* xl (1907), 460-2.



## 21. DUŽYĀIRYĀ.

The Pairikā Dužyāiryā ('Relating to a Bad Year'), 'whom ill-speaking men call Huyāiryā' ('Relating to a Good Year'), is conquered by Tištrya (Yt. viii, 51-5) and is apparently equivalent to the Old Persian Dušiyāra (neuter) from whom, as from Hainā and Drauga, Darius entreats Auramazdā to protect Persia (Dar. Pers. d, 18, 19-20). She obviously presides over all that renders a year unprofitable, particularly from the agriculturist's point of view, her name among 'evil-speaking folk' (i.e. nomads) perhaps being due to the fact that a year disastrous to the agriculturist may be advantageous to the nomad.

## 22. FRAZIŠT.

Together with Astō-vīdāt, Vāc, Nizišt, and Aēšm, the demon Frazišt ('Very Hideous' [?]), who is called Frehzist and Phrejista in the Pāzand and Sanskrit versions respectively, is present when the soul is weighed at the Činvaṭ Bridge; but nothing is said regarding his special functions (MX ii, 15). The name may possibly be connected with the Pāzand and Modern Persian *zišt*, 'hideous, ugly'.

## 23. FRĒFTĀR.

The fiend Frēftār ('Deceiver') is once mentioned (Bd. xxviii, 30) as 'he who seduces mankind.'

## 24. GAĒθō-MARƏŃYA.

The existence of a demon Gaēθō-marəŋya ('Creature-Destroying') is inferred by Bartholomae<sup>1</sup> from the patronymic *gaēθō-marəŋčyāna-* applied to a miser in Yt. xiii, 137. His functions are sufficiently indicated by his name.

## 25. GANDARƏWA.

The demon Gandarəwa, who went about with gaping jaws to destroy the material creation of Aša, was slain by Kərəsāspa on the shore of Vouru-kaša (Yt. v, 38-9; xv, 28; xix, 41; cf. MX xxvii, 49; Dk. IX, xv, 2). According to the Pahlavi Rivāyat preceding the Dāristān-i-Dīnik, Gandarəp was the son of Yim by a witch, and this text tells at length the story of the battle in which the monster fell (SBE xviii, 374-6, 419). In the Avesta he is called *zairipāšna-* ('golden-heeled') and *upāpa-* ('sub-aqueous'); but his name had in

<sup>1</sup> *AirWb.* col. 479.

itself no sinister connotation, for a Gandarəwa is mentioned as the father of the righteous Paršinta (Yt. xiii, 123). As has long been recognised, Gandarəwa is the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Gandharva, who is likewise associated with water, but the meaning of the appellation has not definitely been determined.<sup>1</sup>

## 26. GŌČĪHAR.

The fiend Gōčīhar ('possessing the Seed of Kine'), who is provided with a tail, is the opponent of Māh, whose epithet *gaočiθra-* ('possessing the seed of the kine') he seems to have taken as his own name. Falling to earth from a moon-beam at the Last Day, he is burned in the flood of molten metal (Bd. v, 1; xxviii, 44; xxx, 18, 31). As West suggested,<sup>2</sup> he is probably a shooting star or meteor. In the Kausika Sūtra (cxxvi, 9) a meteor is considered an embodiment of a Rakṣas.<sup>3</sup>

## 27. JĒH.

Jēh ('Harlot'), the daughter of Ahriman, promised to vex all the good creation and to cause conflict which should distress Aūharmazd and the Amšaspands. When her father kissed her on the head, she began to menstruate and lusted for a man, whereupon he, then being in the shape of a lizard, transformed himself into a youth for her pleasure (Bd. iii, 3-9). She is evidently the menstruation-deity of SLS iii, 29, and was regarded as the demoness of the catamenial period by Bartholomae.<sup>4</sup>

The name Jēh is the Middle Persian equivalent of the Avestan *jahi(kā)-*, 'harlot', and is probably cognate with the Sanskrit *hasrā-*, 'harlot' (found only in RV I, cxxiv, 7).<sup>5</sup> If she really was the menstruation-divinity, she would find an analogue in the Roman Mena.<sup>6</sup> Despite the tabus imposed upon menstruous women (Vd. v, 59; xvi, 1-18), the account of Jēh in the Bundahišn, when compared with the evil done by the *jahi(kā)-* according to the Avesta (Vd. xviii, 61-5; cf. SD lxvii, 3-6), seems to imply that she was, rather, the demoness of sexual impurity,<sup>7</sup> but particularly of fornication and adultery.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 136-8, and the references there given; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 179-81, 182; R. von Stackelberg, in *IF* iv (1894), 149-51, and *WZKM* xii (1898), 239-40.

<sup>2</sup> *SBE* v, 21, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 163; Keith, *Religion*, p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 606; cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 267; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 78, 102-8; otherwise Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 177-80.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 606.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. R. Peter, in Roscher, ii, 203-4; Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 185, note 4.

<sup>7</sup> So also Spiegel, *EA* ii, 138; Darmesteter, *ZA* i, 97, note 102.

## 28. KAPASTI.

Seemingly some calamity connected with hostile invasion, together with flood and skin-disease (Yt. viii, 56), Kapasti is mentioned in company with other fiends (Vd. xi, 9, 12), but without any information regarding her functions. The Persian paraphrase translates by *kina* ('hatred'); Spiegel<sup>1</sup> connects the name with Modern Persian *kabast*, 'cucumber, deadly poison'; and Bartholomae<sup>2</sup> very hesitatingly explains it as for \**ka-pasti*-, comparing Latin *pestis*, 'disease, plague'. No conclusion seems possible so far as present knowledge goes.

## 29. KASVİŠ.

Plainly a disease-demon (cf. Yt. v, 92; Vd. ii, 29), the demon Kasvīš ('Smallness' [?]) is mentioned, with no characteristics, together with other fiends only in Vd. xix, 43. If his name is connected with Avestan *kasu*-, 'small, little',<sup>3</sup> he may have been the deity presiding over stunted growth.<sup>4</sup>

## 30. KĀRĒSĀNI.

In the Avesta (Ys. ix, 24) Haoma dethrones Kārēsāni ('Hot' [?]), who had striven to expel Zoroastrianism from his realm; and hence he has been regarded as 'a powerful ruler of a foreign land'.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, he appears to be the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Kṛśānu, who sends deadly arrows at the Soma-drinker, against whom Indra and Viṣṇu are invoked, and who shoots a feather from the wing of the Soma-bearing eagle (RV I, clv, 2; IV, xxvii, 3-4; IX, lxxvii, 2; cf. also I, cxii, 21; X, lxiv, 8). He was a Gandharva (Taittiriya Āraṇyaka I, ix, 3) and one of the guardians of Soma (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa iii, 26). Hillebrandt<sup>6</sup> inclines to regard Kṛśānu as a sun-god whose beams may be beneficent or maleficent according to the

<sup>1</sup> *Commentar*, i, 290; cf. Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 182, note 14; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. 126, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *AirWb.* col. 436; but cf. Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 579-80; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> For hypotheses see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 461, and *ZIW* p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> Tall stature was desired both for men and for women (cf. Yt. viii, 13; HN ii, 23; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, III, ii, 25; Geiger, *OK* pp. 213-4).

<sup>5</sup> Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 74; cf. de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. 284, note 2; Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 470; Darmesteter, *ZA* i, 80-1, 93, note 73, held that he represented Alexander the Great and the Greek invasion.

<sup>6</sup> *Mythologie*, i, 448-9; for further details see Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 223-4; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 161.

season of the year ; and support is lent to this interpretation of the name Kṛsānu. Kərəsāni is etymologically connected with Lithuanian *kārštas*, Lettish *karsts*, 'hot', Lithuanian *keṛštas*, 'wrath',<sup>1</sup> as formations in -*nu*- and -*ni*- respectively from a noun \**kṛšā*-, 'fire'.

### 31. KUNDA.

Sraoša or Ātar is besought to cast into hell the fiend Kunda, who is 'a *bhangī* without *bhang*' (Vd. xix, 41 ; VYt. 26). He is the steed of wizards (Bd. xxviii, 42) and has a son (ZS xxiii, 8) as well as a female counterpart (Vd. xi, 9, 12). In one version of his cosmogony Māni is said to have taught that the sky was from the skin, the earth from the flesh, the mountains from the bones, and the trees from the hairs of Kūnī, the commander of Ahriman's army, who was captured and killed by being bound to the (celestial) sphere,<sup>2</sup> and also that 'a disk upon the support of the fiend Kūndag' was the original creation (Dk. III, cc, 8).<sup>3</sup>

Kunda is usually interpreted as the demon of drunkenness ;<sup>4</sup> but he seems, rather, to have acted like one intoxicated without having taken intoxicants, so that it would appear that he was in reality the deity of madness, corresponding to the Greek Mania.<sup>5</sup> The etymology of his name is wholly unknown.

### 32. KUNDIŽĀ.

The demoness Kundižā is twice mentioned in association with Kundi (the female counterpart of Kunda) and other evil beings (Vd. xi, 9, 12) ; but neither her function nor the meaning of her name is known.

### 33. MAHMI.

According to Eznik,<sup>6</sup> the demon Mahmi, whose name has not thus far been found in any Iranian source, and whose etymology is unclear, revealed to Ormizd that he could create the

<sup>1</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 436 ; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 129-30 ; Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, i, 607-8, 651-2 ; Leskien, *Ablaut*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> For the probable identity of Kūnī and Kunda see E. W. West, in *SBE* xxiv, 244, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> A. V. W. Jackson, in *JAOS* xliii (1923), 24-5, and *JRAS* 1924, pp. 217, 224. The problem will receive further consideration in his *Researches*.

<sup>4</sup> De Harlez, *Avesta*, pp. cxxviii, 202, note 1 ; cf. Spiegel, *EA* ii, 135.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1070, note 7 ; 1079, note 10.

<sup>6</sup> Tr. J. Schmid, p. 109.

sun by sexual intercourse with his mother, and the moon by similar relations with his sister, thus telling what was known to Ahrman, but unknown to Ormizd.

### 34. MAHRKŪŠA.

The being Mahrkūša ('Destroyer'), who was either a demon or a sorcerer of particularly malignant power, is named only once in the Avesta (FW viii, 2), which declares that sometime he will perish. In Vd. ii, 22, the Avestan *zimō*, 'winters', is glossed in the Pahlavi version by *malkūšān*, the equivalent of the Hebrew מַלְקוֹשׁ, 'spring rain', the Middle Persian texts also mentioning 'the rain of Malkōs' in DD xxxvii, 94 (cf. MX xxvii, 28), and 'the winter of Mahrkus' in Dk. VII, i, 24.<sup>1</sup> Mahrkūs is a devastator (Dk. V, iii, 3; cf. SD ix, 5), and he will be manifest for seven years, during four of which most of mankind and of animals will perish (Dk. VII, ix, 3). It would seem, on the whole, that Mahrkūša was a fiend of destruction, and that his association with מַלְקוֹשׁ was due merely to a popular connexion of his name with a Semitic word of similar sound.

### 35. MARŠAVAN.

The demon Maršavan ('Causing Forgetfulness') can lead man to neglect the duties of religion (Vd. xviii, 8-9); but the 'peril' (*iðyejah-*) arising from him, as well as from darkness, demons, thieves, and wizards, is averted by the sun (Ny. i, 14; Yt. vi, 4) and by Yima's Fravaši, who also wards off poverty and drought (Yt. xiii, 130). The 'peril' is likewise associated with Būti (Vd. xix, 1-2; Dk. VII, iv, 37) and with other evil beings (Vd. xix, 43). In the Pahlavi texts Maršavan is replaced by his 'Peril' (Sēj), who causes annihilation (Bd. xxviii, 26), seeks to bring misfortune on every house where there is a child (SD xxxii, 5), and is associated with other fiends (Dk. IX, xxi, 4).

Jackson<sup>2</sup> interprets Maršavan as 'pestilence,' and Dhalla<sup>3</sup> as 'decay'; but as the meaning of his name implies, he seems rather to have been the deity who caused forgetfulness not only of religious duties, but also of the obligations of secular life (whence his connexion with poverty and drought, arising from forgetfulness of financial prudence and of the necessity of irrigating the soil), as well as of the care due to children.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. West, in *SBE* xviii, 109, note 2; 479; xlvii, 108, note 1; Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 234, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Zoroastrianism*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Theology*, p. 268.

## 36. MĪTŌXT.

Mītōxt ('Falsehood'), the personification of the Avestan *miθaoxta vāč* ('word falsely spoken', Ys. lx, 5; Yt. xix, 96) or of *draoγa miθaoxta* ('lie falsely spoken', Vd. xix, 46), appears as a fiend in the Pahlavi texts, where he is the first creation of Ahriman (Bd. i, 24), the liar (*drōjan*) of the Evil Spirit, and the precursor of Arašk, as Arašk is of Aēšm (ib. xxviii, 14, 16). His presence is worse than death (MX xix, 6); through him the archdemon changed the position of heaven into causes of death with him as leader; the souls of the wicked are under his sway; and he is 'as much an evil as all the demons with the demons of demons' (DD xxxvii, 50, 51, 53). He seems to be merely a doublet of the male Druj<sup>1</sup> regarded as 'the Lie'.

## 37. MŪŠ.

In the Avesta Mūš ('Mouse' [?]), against whom the Waters are invoked, is described simply as a Pairikā associated with Āzi (Ys. xvi, 8; lxviii, 8); but in the Pahlavi texts Mūšpar is attached to the sun (Bd. v, 1-2; cf. xxviii, 44). West<sup>2</sup> thought that she was a comet; Darmesteter<sup>3</sup> regarded her as the eclipse-demon; and Bartholomae<sup>4</sup> thought that she may be the fiend of covetousness. The Sanskrit version of Ys. xvi, 8, calls Mūš a *rākṣasī* ('demoness'). The mouse was an evil animal which it was meritorious to kill (SD xliii, 9; Plutarch, *De Invidia et Odio*, 3); and as it is essentially a nocturnal creature, Mūš, like Āzi,<sup>5</sup> was probably a fiend of darkness, in this capacity causing eclipses of the sun. Güntert,<sup>6</sup> however, connecting the name with Sanskrit *muṣkā-*, 'testicle, pudenda muliebria', Modern Persian *mušk*, 'musk' (obtained from the testicles of the beaver), Greek *μύσχορ* 'rō ἀνδρείον καὶ γυναικείον μόριον' (Hesychius), Modern High German *maus*, 'mouse, cunnus' (cf. also Greek *μωρία*, 'mouse-hole, lewd woman', *μῦς λευκός*, 'white mouse, libertine'), believes that she was a demoness of sensuality.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *SBE* v, 22, note 1; xviii, 97, note 2; xxiv, 132, note 2; cf. Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 258-9.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA* i, 144, note 15.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 1189.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> *KZ* xlv (1913), 202-4; cf. also Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 312-3.

## 38. NANG.

The demon Nang ('Shame') is mentioned in PVM 11, 12, and is said to make man litigious.

## 39. NASU.

Nasu ('Corpse'), the demon of dead matter, is overcome, like several other malignant beings, by recital of the names of the Ameša Spēntas, that of Haurvatāt being particularly efficacious (Yt. iv, 2-3, 8). By all the orifices of the body she enters him who carries a corpse alone (Vd. iii, 14). She is described as a hideous mottled fly coming from the north and arriving soon after a death (Vd. vii, 2-4); but she is driven back by a yellow, four-eyed dog (Vd. viii, 16-8), by the ceremonial use of *gōmēz* (ib. viii, 35-72), by ritual recitation of Gāthic verses (ib. ix, 46; x, 1-17), by invoking divine beings (ib. xix, 12-4), or by Zaratustra (ib. xix, 46). To free an individual from Nasu is to perform one's duty toward fire, water, earth, kine, vegetation, and the righteous, and ensures a blessed immortality (Vd. ix, 42-4); but if an unqualified person attempts to perform the purificatory rites, Nasu is strengthened and multiplies disease, destruction, and distress (Vd. ix, 47-8; for the various degrees of infection see ib. v, 27-32; vii, 9-10; ix, 40-1).

In the Pahlavi texts Nas is the demon who 'causes the pollution and contamination which they call "dead matter"' (*nasāi*; Bd. xxviii, 29). She is destroyed by certain dogs and birds (SIS v, 1-5), and until then no good can come near to man (ib. vii, 7). She substitutes herself for the body of the pious (DD xvii, 7-8) and is evidently the Nasrūšt mentioned in SD xxxv, 2; xxxvi, 7; AD 1, 2, 35 (cf. also Pahlavi *nīsrūšt(ih)*, 'contamination', in Bd. xxviii, 29; SIS x, 32). The name Nasu is the exact etymological equivalent of the Greek *nékus*, 'corpse, dead'.<sup>1</sup>

## 40. NIHIV.

The fiend Nihiv ('Terror') is once mentioned (DD xxxvii, 52) as chilling the warmth of the body and as one of the demons created by Ahriman to cause death. He seems to find analogues in the Greek Phobos and Deimos,<sup>2</sup> and appears to be merely a doublet of Saham.

<sup>1</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 661, and cf. Avestan *nasu-* in the sense of 'corpse' (Bartholomae, *AWB*. col. 1057; ZIW p. 200). See also Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 326.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1084, note 1; Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 367-8; cf. Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 149; Waser, in PW iv, 2385-6.



## 41. NĪYĀZ.

The demon Nīyāz ('Want, Poverty') causes distress (Bd. xxviii, 26); moving stealthily and dreading light, he is one of the fiends whom Ahriman created to cause death (DD xxxvii, 52); he makes men wish to be childless (ib. lxxvii, 8); and he has no pastures (Dk. IX, xxi, 4). As his name implies, he is the demon of poverty.

## 42. NIZĪŠT.

Together with Astō-vidāt, Vāē the Bad, Frazīšt, and Aēšm the demon Nizišt is present when the soul is weighed at the Činvat Bridge, but nothing is said regarding his special functions (MX ii, 115). His name is perhaps connected with Pāzand and Modern Persian *zišt*, 'hideous, ugly'.

## 43. PAIRIMATI.

Together with Aka Manah and the Druj the fiend Pairimati ('Denial') is the source of all the Daēvas and their worshippers (Ys. xxxii, 3). She is also mentioned in company with Tarōmati (Yt. iii, 8, 11, 15); and her name is explained in Nīr. 41 as meaning that one denies the existence of religion.

## 44. PAITIŠA.

The demon Paitiša ('Contrary') is once mentioned (Vd. xix, 43) in company with other fiends as 'the most demonic demon of demons'. Apparently he is the deity of Opposition and Contrariness.<sup>1</sup>

## 45. PAS.

The fiend Pas ('Afterward') is named together with Dēr in SD lxxx, 14-7, as entrusted by Ahriman with keeping man from doing his duty, Pas telling him to 'pass on now; it is possible to perform it afterwards'.

## 46. PŪŠ.

Pūš ('Concealed' [?]) 'is the demon who makes a hoard, and does not consume it, and does not give to any one' (Bd. xxviii, 28). His name seems to be connected with Modern Persian *pūš*, 'covering, garment', *pūšidan*, 'to cover, conceal, clothe'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 836; *ZIW* p. 188.



The word *pūš* may possibly be derived from an original *\*pł-tá-*<sup>1</sup> and be cognate with Sanskrit *patala-*, 'cover, veil' (for *\*pal-to-*), Old Norwegian *faldr*, 'cloak', Old Irish *loit*, '(two) mantles', Old Church Slavonic *platino*, 'linen', and—with other formatives—Greek *πέπλος*, 'sheet, robe', Latin *palla*, 'cloak', Old Irish *lenn*, 'mantle', Old Church Slavonic *pelena*, 'swaddling-cloth', and Old Prussian *pelkis*, 'mantle'.<sup>2</sup> Originally the demon seems to have been hidden in darkness, and so was probably at first a nocturnal fiend, later becoming the patron of miserliness as concerned with hidden treasures.

#### 47. SAHAM.

The demon Saham ('Terror') is once mentioned (Dk. IX, xxi, 4) in association with Aēšm, Niyāz, Sēj, and Zarmān, but with no details whatever. He seems to be a mere doublet of Nihiv.

#### 48. SNĀVIΔKA.

The evil being Snāviḍka, 'of a horned race, with hands of stone', was slain by Kərəsāspa, though he had boasted that when he should attain manhood he would make the sky his chariot with the earth for a wheel and with Spənta Mainyu and Aṇra Mainyu for his steeds, dragging them from heaven and hell respectively (Yt. xix, 43-4). Nothing further is recorded concerning him, and the etymology of his name is wholly uncertain.

#### 49. SPAZG.

The fiend Spazg ('Slander') 'brings and conveys gossip' (Bd. xxviii, 31), and he is the only demon in hell who rushes backward, all others rushing forward (MX ii, 12).

<sup>1</sup> Another instance of Modern Persian *š* = *rtó* or *rtó* seems to be *zuš*, 'good, pleasant', for *\*su-vł-tó*, 'well-chosen' (otherwise Horn, *Etymologie*, no. 508; Hübschmann, *Studien*, pp. 57-8). This change, as the Avestan *š* = *rtó* in contrast to Old Persian *rt* shows, is characteristically East Iranian, so that *pūš* would seem to have entered Modern Persian from some other Iranian dialect (cf. further Hübschmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 194-8.)

<sup>2</sup> See especially Persson, *Beiträge*, pp. 225-7; W. Stokes, *Urkehtischer Sprachschatz*, Göttingen, 1894, p. 255; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 58-9. In any case the connexion of *pūš* with Modern Persian *payūš*, 'covetous', *piyūš*, 'avarice', proposed by West (in *SBE*, v, 110, note 7), is scarcely possible.

## 50. SPƏNĴAŦRYA.

The Avesta mentions the demon Spənjārya ('Noise-Leader' [?]) only once (Vd. xix, 40), stating that he is smitten down by the Vāzišta Fire, the cloud-fire, i.e., lightning (cf. Bd. xvii, 1; ZS xi, 5). Together with Apāōš, Aspenjargāk, as a preventer of rain, battled against the precipitation sent by Tīštar, and when struck by Vāzišt's club, he 'made a very grievous noise' like the sounds always heard in 'a conflict with the producer of rain' (Bd. vii, 12; xvii, 1; xxviii, 39; SGV iv, 52; Dk. III, cxii, 5, 8; Pahlavi gloss on Ys. xvii, 11). According to the Frahang-i-Rivāyat-i-Dīnī,<sup>1</sup> Aspəzaršīōš, or Sipanjarōs, not only 'meets the rain and does not give the raining of rain', but 'whenever a child is born he comes to steal its reason; and the child manifests terror, and he steals its reason'.

Spənjārya is regarded by de Harlez<sup>2</sup> as the destroyer of growth, by Darmesteter<sup>3</sup> and Jackson<sup>4</sup> as the storm, and by West<sup>5</sup> as the thunder; but it would seem more probable that he was the deity of the whistling, roaring wind, whether with or without rain. The etymology of his name is as uncertain as are his functions. Bartholomae<sup>6</sup> suggested that its first component may have been the appellation of a tribe or family; but it appears preferable, in view of the demon's 'very grievous noise', to connect *spənjā-* with the Lithuanian *speigti*, 'to sound, tinkle, ring (of the ears)', Lettish *spiegt*, 'to squeak (of a mouse)'.<sup>7</sup>

## 51. TAP.

Ahriman entrusted Tap ('Fever'; cf. Yt. iii, 8, 11) with 'stupefying and disordering the understanding' (DD xxxvii, 51). He finds an analogue in the Roman Febris.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. E. Sachau, in *SWAW* lxvii (1871), 837-52 (especially in the present connexion pp. 840: 5-7, 845: 23-846: 2). The work seems to have been written in India at least as early as 1655 (ib. p. 813). Spənjārya is here confused (as in the Pahlavi version of Ys. xvii, 11) with the Daēva-worshipper Spinjauruška, who was slain by Vištāspa (Yt. ix, 31; xvii, 51), and whose name probably means 'Noise-Raging' (cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 508; less probably Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1625).

<sup>2</sup> *Avesta*, p. cxxix.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA* ii, 273, note 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Zoroastrianism*, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> In *SBE* xxv, 133, note 2; so also Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> *AirWb.* coll. 1615, 1625.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 309, 508; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1025 (quite otherwise Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 663).

<sup>8</sup> See Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 245-6, and in *PW* vi, 2095-6.

## 52. TARŌMATI.

In the house of the righteous the demon Tarōmati ('Contempt') is conquered by Armaiti (Ys. lx, 5; Bd. xxx, 29), and she is also mentioned in association with Pairimati and other evil beings (Yt. iii, 8, 11, 15). She produces disobedience (Bd. xxviii, 14) and opposes Spendarmat (DD xciv, 2), having chosen falsehood rather than righteousness (Dk. IX, xxxiv, p). The term is explained in Nir. 41 as meaning that one admits the existence of religion, but denies its value; and the fiend possibly finds an analogue in the Greek Hybris.<sup>1</sup>

## 53. UDA.

The demon Uda ('Loquacity' [?]) causes man to speak at times when silence should be observed, as while eating or performing the necessities of nature (Bd. xxviii, 19). She was the great-great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Aṇra Mainyu and the mother of Aži Dahāka (Bd. xxxi, 6; DD lxxii, 5; cf. MX lvii, 25), who repeatedly committed incest with her (DD lxxviii, 2); and she was the first adulteress (DD lxxii, 5). Her evil progeny was notorious (Dk. IX, x, 3), and she corrupted Yim (ib. xxi, 4; cf. further VII, ii, 64; ZS xii, 13). The Pahlavi gloss on Vd. xviii, 30, regards her as the Druj with whom Sraoša held colloquy, though others identified this fiend with Xašm-Aēšma or with Ahriman himself. Her association with the evil ruler Vaḍayan mentioned in Vd. xix, 6, and identified with Dahāk in MX lvii, 25, is probably based merely on the similarity of this name to her own Pahlavi appellation Vaṭak,<sup>2</sup> meaning 'evil woman' (Dk. III, lxxx, 16). Etymologically Uda seems to be cognate with the Indo-European base *\*aved-*, 'to speak' (cf. Sanskrit *vad-*, 'to speak', Avestan *vaḍamna-*, 'admonishing', Greek *zōdē*, voice, utterance', Old High German *far-wāzan*, 'to deny', Lithuanian *vadinti*, 'to call', Old Church Slavic *vada*, 'calumny'), in its reduced-zero grade (cf. Sanskrit *uditā-*, 'spoken', Greek *idēō*, 'to tell of, celebrate', *ἱδής*: *συverēs ἡ ποιητής* [Hesychius]).<sup>3</sup> In all probability she was, as Bd. xxviii, 19, indicates, the demoness of ill-timed loquacity<sup>4</sup> and the opponent of the Persian 'silentii numen' mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXI, xiii, 4).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1079, notes 5, 7; H. W. Stoll, in Roscher, i, 2767-8. Cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 260-1.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 217, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 133; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 99, 998; Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 337; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 251-2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. further Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 92-3; Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 332-3.

## 54. VAREN.

The fiend Varen ('Lust') is first mentioned in the Pahlavi texts. He causes illicit sexual relations (Bd. xxviii, 25) and is the opponent of Art-Aši (DD xciv, 2); the man whose will is ruled by him is sinful (Dk. III, xxxiii, 2; cf. xlvi, 4; cccxxvi, 3); he is the twin brother of Akōman and the offspring of Ahriman (ib. cxxii, 4-5); he is mentioned together with other fiends (DD xxxvii, 44); and is probably the 'demon of concupiscence' of Chinese Manichaean documents.<sup>1</sup>

Varen's name is obviously derived from the Indo-European base *\*uele-*, 'to wish' (Latin *volo*, Gothic *wiljan*, 'to wish', etc.), and as a formation in *-no-* (cf. Welsh and Breton *guell*, 'better', if for *\*welno*,<sup>2</sup> Avestan *varəna-*, 'religious conviction' [originally 'choice'], and, more remotely, Sanskrit *vāraṇa-*, 'choice, wish'),<sup>3</sup> means 'wish, desire'. He finds at least partial analogues in the Greek Himeros and Pothos.<sup>4</sup>

## 55. VĀTYA.

The fiend Vātya ('Relating to Wind') is once mentioned (Vd. x, 14) together with the Daēvas of Varena,<sup>5</sup> but with no details whatever. From his name he was evidently a wind-demon and was possibly identified with the evil 'south-north wind' of Yt. iii, 9, 12, 16<sup>6</sup>.

## 56. VAYA OR VAYU.

After Astō-vīdātu has bound a victim, the demon Vaya or Vayu ('Persecutor' [?]) bears him away (Vd. v, 8, 9); and his road alone no man may traverse, so that he has the special epithet *anamarəzdika-* ('pitiless'; Aog. 77-81; cf. MX xlvii, 8). In the Pahlavi texts he once seems to be identified with Astō-vidāt (Bd. xxviii, 35); as a despoiler and a destroyer (DD xxx, 4) he tears life away by stupifying the body (ib. xxxvii, 52); and

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, pp. 524, note; 530, 537.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1909-13, ii, 121.

<sup>3</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 239-40, 246; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 855; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 529; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 429-30; and cf. Sanskrit *vr̥ṇtē*, *vr̥ṇute*, Avestan *varəntē*, 'chooses', *varəmata*, 'chose.' See, further, Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 294-5.

<sup>4</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 870, 1072, note 1; H. W. Stoll, in Roscher<sup>\*</sup> i, 2661-2; O. Höfer, ib. iii, 2903-6; E. Sittig, in PW viii, 1635-8.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the modern Gīlān; cf. Darmesteter, ZA ii, 14, note 38; 373, note 33.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 79-80.

with Astō-vīdāt, Frazīšt, and Nizīšt he oppresses the soul at the Činvaṭ Bridge (MX ii, 115). As 'Vāē the Bad' he is contrasted—probably by a mere popular etymology of his name—with 'Vāē the Good' (i.e. Vayu) in DD xxx, 4; MX ii, 115; Gd. Bd xxvi, 12 (cf. Bd. xxviii, 35), and is associated with other fiends in DD xxxvii, 44 (cf. also Mān. II, iii, 15; viii, 5). Darmesteter<sup>1</sup> regarded Vaya as the demonic opponent of Vayu, West<sup>2</sup> as the lower air, and Dhalla<sup>3</sup> as the storm-wind, while Bartholomae much more plausibly suggests<sup>4</sup> that he was in reality a 'pursuer', connecting his name with Sanskrit *veti*, Latin *venor*, 'to hunt', etc.,<sup>5</sup> so that he would be the fiend who constantly pursues man, seeking to compass his destruction.

### 57. VĪZARĒŠA.

The Avesta (Vd. xix, 29) once mentions the demon Vīzarēša ('He who Drags Away') as carrying the enchained souls of the wicked dead until he comes to the Činvaṭ Bridge. According to Bd. xxviii, 18, he struggles with these souls throughout the three days and nights during which they remain in this world: 'he carries them on, terror-stricken, and sits at the gate of hell'; or, according to Gd. Bd. xxxvii, 2,<sup>6</sup> he and his collaborators watch all souls during this period. On the fourth night Vīzarēš conveys the soul bound to hell (DD xxxii, 4, 7) after mercilessly beating and tormenting it (MX ii, 161-6). He is likewise named in company with other fiends (DD xxxvii, 44; cf. Mān. II, v, 13); and it has already been suggested<sup>7</sup> that he may have been the doublet of Nāzhaīša as the god who caused man to return at death to the earth whence he was born.

### 58. XAV.

The fiend Xav (Pāzand form Xw) is mentioned only once (Bd. xix, 27) in a passage which states that the fox was created to oppose him. His nature and functions, like the etymology of his name, are very uncertain, though the context would seem to imply that he was an animal deity. If Xav may stand for an

<sup>1</sup> ZA ii, 68, note 15; 579.

<sup>2</sup> SBE xxxvii, 223, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> Theology, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> AirWb. col. 1358; cf. 1408.

<sup>5</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 367; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 816; Müller *Wörterbuch*, p. 531 (but cf. Walde-Pokorný, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 220-3, 228-31, 258-60).

<sup>6</sup> Tr. J. J. Modi, *Asiatic Papers*, i (Bombay, 1905), 226.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. 183-4.

Avestan \**xaba-*, Indo-European \**q(h)ab(h)o-*, it may possibly be connected with Armenian *xab*, 'deceit, fraud',<sup>1</sup> Greek *χζβόν* *καμπύλον, στενόν* (Hesychius), Latin *hāmus*, 'hook' (for \**hābmos* or \**hābmos*)<sup>2</sup> so that he was perhaps 'the crooked (animal)'. He may have been the cat-god, particularly as the Iranians considered this animal a noxious creature.<sup>3</sup>

### 59. XNAΘAITI.

This Pairikā was created by Aṇra Mainyu as the bane of Vaēkərəta (Kābūlistān) and she led Kərəsāspa astray, but was to be destroyed by Zaratuštra (Vd. i, 9: xix, 5). The Pahlavi version of the Vidēvdāt interprets her as 'the cult of idols' (*ūzdēs parastih*); but if, as Güntert thinks,<sup>4</sup> her name is connected with Greek *κνήθω*, 'to scratch, tickle, itch', she would be, rather, the demoness of pruriency.

### 60. XRŪ AND XRVIŊNĪ.

The fiends Xrū ('Raw') and Xrviŋnī ('Raw-Striker') are associated with other demons in Vd. xi, 9, 12, but with no details as to their functions.

### 61. XŪT-DŌŠAGĪH.

The demon Xūt-dōšagīh ('Self-Conceit') is once mentioned (DD xciv, 2) as an opponent of Dīn.

### 62. ZAIRIMYAŋKURA.

The fiend Zairimyaŋkura ('Whose Toes are in a Stronghold'), to whom evil-speaking folk gave the hypocoristic name Zairimyaŋka, was so heinous a monster, slaying thousands of the creatures of Spēta Mainyu between dawn and sunset, that he who killed it was absolved from evil thought, evil word, and evil deed (Vd. xiii, 5-7). The demon is identified by tradition with the tortoise,<sup>5</sup> which was deemed a noxious creature to be destroyed (Vd. xiv, 5; Pahlavi Rivāyat, tr. West, in *SBE* xviii, 419).

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 1045-6; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 359-60 (but cf. Müller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 123).

<sup>3</sup> Pahlavi Rivāyat, tr. E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 419; see further Schrader, *RL*<sup>2</sup> i, 562-6; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*,<sup>8</sup> Berlin, 1911, pp. 463-76, 619-22.

<sup>4</sup> *KZ* xlv (1913), 200, note; see also Spiegel, *EA* i, 564; ii, 139, and especially Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 10, note 23, who regards her, following the tradition, as the demoness of idolatry. For further cognates of *κνήθω* see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 476.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 1681-2; cf. also the Rivāyat cited by Spiegel, *Commentar*, i, 297-8, and see Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 282-3.

## 63. ZAURVAN.

Zaurvan ('Senility'), the demon of old age, is once named in the Avesta together with other fiends (Vd. xix, 43), his special epithet *duzdafəðra-* apparently implying that he weakens the intellect of the aged.<sup>1</sup> Bd. xxviii, 23, expressly states that 'Zarmān is the demon who makes decrepit', and he is associated with other fiends in DD xxxvii, 44; Dk. IX, xxi, 4. He finds analogues in the Greek Geras and the Roman Senectus.<sup>2</sup>

## 64. ZYAM.

Zyam ('Winter') appears to be considered a demon in Vd. xix<sup>3</sup> 43, and is directly declared to be a creation of Aŋra Mainyu (ib. i, 2, 19), besides having the conventional epithet *daēvō-dāta-* ('demon-created'; cf. Vd. ii, 22; vii, 27).

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<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 757, 1684.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 454, 1065, 1068, note 1; H. W. Stoll, in Roscher, i, 1628; O. Höfer, ib. iv, 710; Waser, in *PW* vii, 1240-2, Zwickler, b. 2 series, i, 1457-8; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 366.



## A LIST OF THE DIVINE AND DEMONIC BEINGS OF THE IRANIAN RELIGIONS.

In this list of the superhuman beings of Iranism the Amēša Spēntas, in view of their very superior importance, are placed at the head of all, followed by the other deities and by the demons in alphabetical order. Beings whose names are in capitals are first mentioned in the Gāthās; those in roman, in the Younger Avesta; those in italics, in the Middle Persian (Pahlavi and Pāzand); those in black face are not named in Iranian texts so far as known, but are either mentioned in non-Iranian sources or may be inferred from Iranian statements. Capital letters before a name denote an archdeity or archdemon and refer to the first chapter of the first or second book respectively; roman numerals, a major deity or demon, and the second chapter; arabic numerals, a minor deity or demon, and the third chapter. The gods and demons mentioned in the introductory paragraphs on pp. 129-30 and 198 are not included in these lists since they are entirely too vague even for tentative classification. Of analogous beings in other Indo-European or in Semitic religions only the most striking are here noted: those of India (almost exclusively Vedic) are given in a special column; the others are indicated by the following abbreviations: B.=Babylonian; Gk.=Greek; Gl.=Gaulish; L.=Lithuanian; R.=Roman; S.=Slavic.

### I. THE AMĒŠA SPĒNTAS.

Old Persian <sup>1</sup>	Pre-Gāthic Function	Gāthic <sup>2</sup>	Younger Avesta	Pahlavi	Indian	Scythian
'Zeus'	Sky	B. Ahura Mazda	Ahura Mazda	Aūhar-mazd	Dyaus	Papaïos
'Helios'	Sun	C. Vohu Manah <sup>3</sup>	Miḡra	Vohūman <sup>4</sup>	Mitra	Oitosyros
'Selene' 'Ge'	Moon Earth	F. Ārmaiti	Māh Zam	Spendar-mat	Pṛthivī	Apia

<sup>1</sup> The order given by Herodotus is here followed.

<sup>2</sup> Gāthic sequence: Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaḡra, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, Amərətāt.

<sup>3</sup> Replacing Miḡra.

<sup>4</sup> Here the god of animals, replacing the Younger Avestan Drvāspā.



'Pyr'	Fire	D. Aša <sup>1</sup>	Ātar	Artavahišt	Agni	Tabiti
'Hydor'	Water	G. Haurva-tāt <sup>2</sup>	Āpah	Horvadaṭ	Āpah	Thamima-sadas
	Victory	E. Xšaθra <sup>3</sup>	Verəθra-rayna	Šatvāirō	Indra	'Herakles'
	Haoma	G. Amərə-tāt	Haoma	Amerōdaṭ <sup>4</sup>	Soma	

## II. THE OTHER DEITIES.

Name	Function	Indian Equivalent	Other Analogues
1. ĀDA	?		
2. Āfriti <sup>5</sup>	?		
3. Ahurāni	rain	Varuṇāni (?)	
4. Airyaman	healing (orig. sun ?)	Aryaman	
5. Aiwi-srūgrima <sup>5</sup>	time (sunset-midnight)		
6. Ama <sup>5</sup>	battle-attack		
7. Anayra Raočah	light		
8. Ā <sup>2</sup> θhairya <sup>10</sup>	birth (?)		
9. Antara-māh <sup>10</sup>	new moon	Amāvāsyā, Rākā	
10. Apām Napāt	water (esp. fertilising)	Apām Napāt	
11. Āpō	waters	Āpās	
i. 'Aradvi'	divine river (Oxus ?)	Sarasvatī	
12. Arštāt	justice		Gk. Dike (?)
13. Arštāi-fravarə	Fravašis collectively		
14. Asan	sky		
ii. AŠI	lucky star, luck <sup>6</sup>		West Sem.
15. Asnya <sup>10</sup>	divisions of the day		Gad
iii. ATAR	fire, <sup>7</sup> lightning	Agni	
16. Axsti <sup>10</sup>	victorious peace		Gk. Eirene
17. Ayara <sup>10</sup>	days of the month		
18. Ayāθrima <sup>10</sup>	autumn return of herds		
19. ĀZŪITI <sup>8</sup>	fatness		
20. Bāmyā	dawn <sup>9</sup>	Uṣas	
21. Bərəjya <sup>10</sup>	growth of grain		R. Cerus
22. Cistā <sup>10</sup>	Venus as morning star		B. Ištār
23. Cisti <sup>10</sup>	wisdom		Gk. Sophia

<sup>1</sup> Replacing Ātar.<sup>2</sup> Replacing Āpah.<sup>3</sup> Replacing Verəθrayna.<sup>4</sup> Here the deity of vegetation.<sup>5</sup> Named only in the Younger Avesta.<sup>6</sup> Replacing Baxt.<sup>7</sup> Replaced in part by Aša.<sup>8</sup> Mentioned only in the Gāgās.<sup>9</sup> Doublet of Uṣas.<sup>10</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

iv. Daēnā	sky-goddess	Dyauh devi	
24. Dahyuma <sup>1</sup>	god of whole land		
25. { Daēnaya <sup>1</sup> Upamana <sup>1</sup> Dāmōiš- Upamana <sup>1</sup>	sub-aspect of sky-goddess(?) sub-aspect of sky god (?)		
26. Dāta <sup>1</sup>	law		Gk. Nomos
v. Drvāspā	solar (dawning sun ?) <sup>3</sup>	Sūryā	
27. Drvatāt <sup>1</sup>	physical health		Gk. Hygieia
28. 𐬔retī <sup>1</sup>	energy		
29. FRASTI <sup>2</sup>	teachability		
30. Frādaṭ-fsu <sup>1</sup>	increase of small cattle		L. Gotha
31. Frādaṭ-vīra <sup>1</sup>	increase of mankind		
32. Frādaṭ-vīspāw- hujyāti <sup>1</sup>	increase of all comfort		
33. FRASASTI	fame		
vi. Fravašis	ancestors, guardian spirits	Pitaras	
34. Fšerātū <sup>1</sup>	(eschatological) reward		
35. Gaokerena	sacred tree		
36. GĒUŠ TAŠAN	creator (of cattle)	Tvaštr	
vii. GĒUS	storm-clouds	Rudra	
URVAN			
37. Hadīš	house-god		L. Dimstipatis
38. Hamaspāgmaē- ḍaya <sup>1</sup>	completion (of religious duties [?])		
39. Hām-vaintī <sup>1</sup>	conquest <sup>4</sup>		
40. Hām-varatī <sup>1</sup>	morning mist <sup>5</sup>		
viii. Haoma	exhilarating draught <sup>6</sup>	Soma	
41. Haptō-iringa	constellation Ursa Major		
42. Hāvani <sup>1</sup>	time (sunrise-noon)		
43. HUJĀTI <sup>2</sup>	identical with Haurvatāt ?		
44. HUŠITI	household prosperity		
ix. Hvarə	sun	Sūrya	
45. IŠ <sup>2</sup>	wish		
46. IŽĀ <sup>2</sup>	zeal		
x. Māh	moon	Candra	
47. Māhya <sup>1</sup>	month-god		
48. Maiḍyārya <sup>1</sup>	mid-year		
49. Maiḍyōi-šam <sup>1</sup>	mid-summer		

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned only in the Gāgās.

<sup>3</sup> Replaced in part by Vohūman in Middle Persian.

<sup>4</sup> The existence of the deity is very doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> Later function, concealment, especially of warriors.

<sup>6</sup> Replaced in part by Amerətāt.

50. Maiḡyōi-	mid-spring		
zaremayā <sup>1</sup>			
51. Maḡra	spell <sup>2</sup>		
xi. Miḡra	sun <sup>3</sup>	Mitra	
52. *Nairyās <sup>4</sup> a	solar (setting sun ?)		L. Bezlea
53. Nairyō-sa <sup>5</sup> ha	prayer <sup>4</sup>	Narāsamsa	
54. Nmānya <sup>1</sup>	household god		S. Domovoi
55. Paitiś-hahya <sup>1</sup>	harvest		R. Consus
56. Paōiryaēinyā <sup>1</sup>	Pleiades		
57. Pārēndi <sup>1</sup>	abundance		L. Piluitus
58. Paurvatāt <sup>1</sup>	priority		R. Praestana
59. Pārēnō-māh <sup>1</sup>	full moon	Paurnamāsi	
60. Rāman	landed property		
61. Rapiḡwina <sup>1</sup>	time (noon-mid-afternoon)		
62. Rasāstāt <sup>1</sup>	right procedure (?)		
xii. Rašnu	solar deity	Pūšan	
63. Rātā	generosity, bounty	Sūntā	
64. Saokā	(1) earthly profit, (2) solar, (3) riverine		(1) R. Lucrui
65. Satavaēsa	stellar		
66. Savah <sup>1</sup>	worldly gain		
67. Sāva <sup>7</sup> hi <sup>1</sup>	increase of large cattle		
xiii. SPĒNTA	creator <sup>5</sup>	Viśvakarman, Prajāpati	

## MAINYU.

xiv. SRAOŠA	morning star		L. Ausrinie
68. Ǫrita	healing (orig. water)	Trita	
69. Ǫwāša <sup>6</sup>	celestial space		
xv. *Tīr	summer sun		
xvi. Tištrya	dog-star		G. Seirios
70. TUŠNĀMATi	?		
71. Upanayanā <sup>1</sup>	tradition		
72. Uparatāt	superiority (esp. in battle)		Gk. Nike
73. Urvarā	plants	Ōṣadhīs	
74. Urvaḡā <sup>1</sup>	celestial deity (?)		
75. Ušah <sup>1</sup>	dawn <sup>7</sup>	Ušas	
76. Ušahina <sup>1</sup>	time (midnight-dawn)		
77. Ušidarəna	dawn-mountain		
78. Uzayeirina <sup>1</sup>	time (mid-afternoon-sunset)		
79. Vanant	star <sup>8</sup>		
80. Vāta	wind (possibly of south)	Vāta	
81. Vayah <sup>1</sup>	aether		

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.<sup>2</sup> Apparently the ethicised form of Nairyō-sa<sup>5</sup>ha.<sup>3</sup> Replaced in part by Vohu Manah.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the original form of Maḡra.<sup>5</sup> Probably the later form of Zrvan.<sup>6</sup> Mentioned only in the Gāgās.<sup>7</sup> Doublet of Bāmyā.<sup>8</sup> Identified either with Formalhaut or with Vega.

82. Vayu	storm-wind (beneficent)	Vāyu
xvii. Vərəθrayna	victory (orig. storm) <sup>3</sup>	Indra
83. Višaptaḡa <sup>1</sup>	moon midway between waxing and waning	Ekāṣṭaka
84. Visya <sup>1</sup>	village-god	Mod. Ind. Grāmadevatā
85. Yāirya <sup>1</sup>	year-god	
86. YAOŠTI <sup>2</sup>	zeal	
xviii. Xvərənah	light	
87. Zam	earth <sup>4</sup>	Prthivi
88. Zantuma <sup>1</sup>	clan-god	
89. Zaraḡuštrō- təma <sup>1</sup>	priesthood-deity	
90. Zaranumant	sacred lake	L. Orthus
xix. Zrvan	creator <sup>5</sup>	Viśvakarman, Prajāpati

## III. THE DEMONS.

Name	Function	Indian Equivalent	Other Analogues
i. AĒŠMA	night sacrifice and revelry		
1. <i>Atyāš</i>	evil eye		
C. AKA MANAH	night		R. Nocturnus
2. Akataš	neglect of duty		
3. <i>Anāstāpānīh</i>	(religious) instability		
4. <i>Anāxšti</i> <sup>1</sup>	dissention		G. Eris
B. AṇRA	(1) underworld, (2) evil		(1) Gk. Hades
MAINYU.	creator		
5. Aoša <sup>1</sup>	hair-combings and nail- parings		
6. Apaoša	summer torridity		
7. Arāiti <sup>1</sup>	avarice	Arāti(s)	
8. <i>Arašk</i>	envy		Gk. Phthonos
9. <i>Arāst</i>	untruth		
10. Arəzūra	volcano		
11. <i>Ašgahānīh</i>	sloth		
12. ASRUŠTI	disobedience		
13. Astō-viḡātu	death-agony	Mṛtyu	
14. Azi	nocturnal fiend	Rakṣas	
ii. Aži Dahāka	hostile race of Dahae (?)		
51. Būšyastā	numbing fatalism		
16. Būti	?		
17. <i>Čišmak</i>	whirlwind		
18. Dawil	conspiracy (?)		
19. <i>Dēr</i>	procrastination		
20. Driwil	?		

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned only in the Gāthās.

<sup>3</sup> Replaced in part by Xšaθra.

<sup>4</sup> Replaced in part by Armaiti.

<sup>5</sup> Earlier form of Spenta Mainyu.

iii. DRUJ	(1) doublet of Ahriman, (2) underworld-queen	(2) Gl. Aera- cura
21. Dužyāiryā	bad year (esp. for agricul- ture)	
22. <i>Frazišt</i>	?	
23. <i>Frēštār</i>	leading astray	
24. *Gaē <sup>o</sup> -marə- nōya.	destruction of animals	
25. Gandarəwa	water-demon	Gandharva
26. <i>Gōšīhar</i>	meteor	
D. INDRA	torrential rain	
27. <i>Jēh</i>	sexual impurity	
28. Kapastī <sup>1</sup>	disease-demon (?)	
29. Kasviš <sup>1</sup>	dwarfishness (?)	
30. Kərəsāni <sup>1</sup>	aspect of burning sun (?)	Krśānu
31. Kunda	madness	Gk. Mania
32. Kudižā <sup>1</sup>	?	
33. Mahmi	?	
34. Mahrkūša	destruction	
35. Maršavan	forgetfulness	
36. <i>Mitōxt</i>	falsehood <sup>2</sup>	
37. Mūš	nocturnal demon	
38. <i>Nang</i>	shame	
F. Nā <sup>o</sup> <i>Ṣhaiṭya</i>	death returning man to earth <sup>3</sup>	
39. Nasu	corpse	
40. <i>Nihiv</i>	terror <sup>4</sup>	Gk. Phobos.
41. <i>Niyāz</i>	poverty	
42. <i>Nzišt</i>	?	
iv. Pairikā	bewitching demoness	Rākṣasi
43. PARIMATI	denial	
44. Paitiša <sup>1</sup>	contrariness	
45. <i>Pas</i>	delay	
46. <i>Pīš</i>	nocturnal demon	
47. <i>Saham</i>	terror <sup>5</sup>	Gk. Phobos
E. Saurva	lightning	Śarva
48. Snāvidka <sup>1</sup>	?	
49. <i>Sparg</i>	slander	
50. <i>Spənjərya</i>	whistling of storm	
51. <i>Tap</i>	fever	R. Febris
52. Tarōmati	contempt	Gk. Hybris
G. Taurvi	drought	Šuṣṇa

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> A doublet of the Druj in some of the latter's aspects.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a doublet of Vizərəša.

<sup>4</sup> A doublet of Saham.

<sup>5</sup> A doublet of Nihiv.

53. <i>Uda</i>	loquacity	
54. <i>Varen</i>	lust	Gk. Pothos
55. <i>Vātya</i> <sup>1</sup>	wind-demon	
56. <i>Vaya, Vayu</i>	persecutor of humanity (?)	
57. <i>Vizareša</i>	death-demon <sup>2</sup>	
58. <i>Xav</i>	cat (?)	
59. <i>Xnaw<sup>3</sup>aiti</i>	inordinate love	
60. <i>Xrū</i> and	?	
<i>Xrviyni</i> <sup>1</sup>		
61. <i>Xūš-dōš<sup>2</sup>agih</i>	self-conceit	
G. <i>Zairik</i>	poisonous plants	
62. <i>Zairinya<sup>3</sup>ḡ- kura</i> <sup>1</sup>	tortoise	
63. <i>Zaurvan</i>	senility	Gk. Geras
64. <i>Zyāw<sup>1</sup>m</i>	winter	

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<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a doublet of *Nā<sup>2</sup>ḡhaiḡya*.

# CLASSIFICATION OF THE DIVINE AND DEMONIC BEINGS OF THE IRANIAN RELIGIONS.<sup>1</sup>

*Creator-gods* : Ahura Mazda, Gēuš Tašan, Spēnta Mainyu, Zrvan, *Aṇra Mainyu*.

*Sky, Mid-Air, Light, and Darkness* : (Ahura Mazda), VOHU MANAH-Miθra, Anayra Raočah, Antarə-māh, Asan, Aši, Bāmyā, Čistā, Daēnā, Daēnayā Upamana (?), Dāmōiš Upamana (?), Drvāspā, Gēuš Urvan, Haptō-iringa, Hvarə, Māh, Nairyāspa (?), Paoiryačinyā, Pərənō-māh, Rašnu, Saokā, Satavačša, Sraoša, Ɔwāša, Tīr, Tištrya, Urvaθā (?), Ušah, Vanant, Vāta, Vayah, Vayu, (Vərəθrayna), Višaptača, Xərənah, *Aka Manah*, *Āzi*, *Gōčihar*, *Kərəsāni* (?), *Mūš*, *Pūš*, *Vātya*.

*Earth* : AMĒRĒTĀT-Haoma, ĀRMAITI-Zam, AŠA-Ātar, HAU RVATĀT-Āpō, Ahurānī, Apam Napāt, 'Arədvī', Gaokərəna, Həm-varəti, Saokā, (Ɔrita), Urvarā, Ušidarəna, Zarənumant, *Aṇra Mainyu*, *Apaoša*, *Arəšūra*, *Čišmak*, *Druž*, *Gandarəva*, *Indra*, *Pairikā*, *Saurva*, *Spənjayrya*, *Taurvi*, *Zairik*.

*Human Life, Health, Disease, and Death* : Airyaman, Āṇhairya, (Aši), Drvatāt, Frādat-vīra, Ɔrita, *Aiyāš*, *Aoša*, *Astō-vištatu*, *Kapasti* (?), *Kascīš* (?), *Kunda*, *Nāṇhaiθya*, *Nasu*, *Tap*, *Vaya*, *Vizarəša*, *Zaurvan*.

*Political* : Dahyuma, Dāta, Nmānya, Vīsyā, Zantuma, *Āzi Dahāka* (?).

*War and Peace* : XSAƆRA-Vərəθrayna, Ama, Āxšti, Həm-vaintī, Uparatāt, *Anāxšti*, *Dawi* (?).

<sup>1</sup> The names of the Amesha Spentas are indicated by small capitals, those of other deities by roman, and those of all demons by italics. Names enclosed in parentheses belong only in part to the class where they are so listed.

*Household* : Ar̥tāi-Fravart̥, Frādaṭ-viṣpām-huṣyāti, Fravaši, Haḍis, Huṣyāti (?), Huṣiti, (Nmānya), Rāman, Saokā, Savah, Niyāz.

*Agricultural and Pastoral* : Ayāθrima, Berojya, Frādaṭ-fšu, Paitiš-hahya, Sāvaṛhi, Duṣyāiryā, Gaēḥō-marānčya.

*Animals* : Xav (?), Zairimyaṛkura.

*Cultic* : Fšeratū, (Dāta), Hamaspaṣmaēdaya, Maθra-Nairyō-saṛha, Upanayanā, Zaraḥuštrōtoma, Aēšma.

*Time* : Aivi-srūθrima, Asnya, Ayara, Hāvani, Māhya, Maidyāira, Maidyōi-šam, Maidyōi-zarəmayā, Rapiθwina, Ušahina, Uzayeirina, Yāirya, Zyām.

*Virtue and Vice* : Arštāt, Čisti, θrəti, Fərašti, Īzā, Rasaštāt, Rātā, Yaošti, Akataš, Anāstāpānīh, Arūti, Arašk, Arāst, Ašgahānīh, Asrušti, Būšyastā, Der, Frēštār, Ĵeh, Markūša, Maršavan, Mitōxt, Nang, Nihiv, Pairimati, Paitiša, Pas, Saham, Spazg, Tarōmati, Uda, Varen, Xnaθaiti, Xut-dōšagīh.

*Abstract* : Āzūiti, Frasasti, Īš, Pārendi, Paurvatāt, (Uparatāt).

*Unknown or Doubtful* : Ādā, Āfriti, Tušnāmati, Būti, Driwi, Frazišt, Kundizā, Mahmi, Nizīšt, Snāvidka, Xrū, Xrvinyā.

(178) *End*

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